HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Scandal of the M-16

How McNamara Has Been 'Managing' the Pentagon

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

A 56-page report, issued by a special House Armed Services subcommittee, may well become the most shocking reading matter of the year. For it shows conclusively that Robert Strange McNamara's Defense Department has been deliberately issuing faulty equipment to the troops in Viet Nam.

If this is an explosive charge, the three congressmen who make up the subcommittee–Democrats Richard Ichord of Missouri and "Speedy" Long of Louisiana, and Republican William G. Bray of Indiana–are not afraid to lay it on the line. Their account of the Army's troubles with the M-16 rifle, used by troops in Viet Nam, is full of terms like "criminal negligence" and "unethical" conduct.

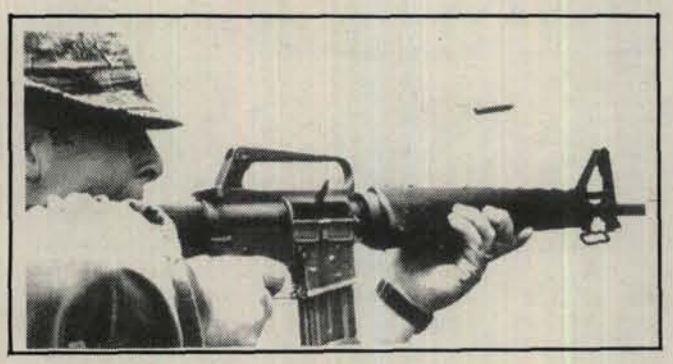
Far more disturbing than the language of the House report is the story it tells. For if the full account were generally known to the American public, the outcry against Defense Secretary McNamara and the other responsible officials would shake the Johnson Administration.

(Copies of the report may be obtained by writing to Rep. William G. Bray in Washington or to the other two members of the subcommittee.)

The report, certainly, should be turned over to the Justice Department for study of possible action. It is necessary only to read the findings and recommendations of the special House Armed Services subcommittee to understand the situation. Let me quote:

"1. That both Army and Marine Corps personnel have experienced serious and excessive malfunctions with the M-16 rifle, the most serious being the failure to extract the spent cartridge.

"2. That proper care and cleaning are of the utmost importance to the effective operation of the rifle.



The controversial M-16 rifle (inset) now being used in Viet Nam may have caused increased American casualties, according to a special House subcommittee.

"3. That shortages of cleaning equipment, lack of proper training and instructions contributed to the excessive malfunction rate of the M-16 rifle in Viet Nam.

"4. That various levels of command in both the Army and the Marine Corps have been negligent in failing to provide proper supervision . . . as well as failing to distribute cleaning material and written instructions."

The report verifies a horrible story–that a corporal was killed in Viet Nam because there was only one cleaning rod, essential for the M-16, to his platoon. As he ran back and forth in order that soldiers needing the rod could borrow it, he was shot by Viet Cong fire.

"5. That the past experience of the Army with the M-16 rifle in Viet Nam was not properly called to the attention of the Marines when the weapon was issued to them in Viet Nam."

The M-16, however, had been "an excellent and reliable weapon" until the Army decided to switch ammunition from IMR extruded powder to a ball propellant manufactured by Olin Mathieson. The company's "close relationship with the Army may have influenced the decision makers" at the Pentagon to change the type of ammunition, the subcommittee states.

But, in order to use ball propellants, the Army was compelled to make modifications in the M-16 rifle. "Two of these modifications increased the unit cost of the rifle substantially and another decreased its performance characteristics."

The report charges flatly that officials in the Department of the Army "were aware of the adverse effect of ball propellant on the cyclic rate of the M-16 as early as March 1964 . . . yet continued to accept delivery of additional thousands of rifles that were not subjected to acceptance or endurance tests."

Others "as high in authority" as an assistant secretary of defense "knowingly accepted M-16 rifles that would not pass" these tests–even though they were warned of this by officials of Colt, the manufacturer of the rifle. And, the report adds, "the failure on the part of officials with authority in the Army to cause action to be taken to correct the deficiencies of the 5.56-mm. ammunition borders on criminal negligence."

"The government inspector at Colt's plant took the initiative [to correct some of the deficiencies in the M-16 rifle] only after reading newspaper reports of problems being experienced. These newspaper reports were not published until about six months after notices of excessive malfunction were received by . . . the Army Materiel Command."

The subcommittee found it "at least unethical" for the general commanding the Army Weapons Command during negotiations for procurement of the rifle "to accept staff employment with the procurer of the M-16 rifle upon his retirement."

To cap it all, the manufacturer, bound by a fixed-rate plus 10 per cent contract, made profits of 19.6 per cent in 1965 and 16.8 per cent in 1966.

This only scratches the surface of the story, a sordid one which hardly squares with the myth of Secretary McNamara's wise and efficient management of the Pentagon.

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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● Sources close to Sen. **Eugene McCarthy** (D.-Minn.) say he has serious intentions of taking on LBJ in the Democratic primaries next year as the "dove" candidate. Considered the prime mover behind McCarthy's actions: Allard K. Lowenstein, vice chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action and leader of an "unofficial" National Student Association project to dump LBJ in 1968.

● Insiders are saying that **Walt Whitman Rostow**, the President's chief foreign policy adviser in the White House, was denied super-secret clearance on several projects during the Eisenhower Administration largely because of some of his relatives.

● According to government investigators, the **Communist party** will launch a drive in a number of cities and states in 1968 to put on the ballot propositions opposed to America's intervention in Viet Nam.

● By a 19-to-13 vote, the House Education and Labor Committee has endorsed an amended version of the Senate's $4.2-billion **anti-poverty program.** Only two Republicans—Representatives Ogden R. Reid (N.Y.) and Alphonzo Bell (Calif.)—favored this spending boondoggle in the face of a massive government deficit.

● The following Democrats favored the **poverty package:** Perkins (Ky.), Thompson (N.J.), Holland (Pa.), Dent (Pa.), Pucinski (Ill.), Daniels (N.J.), Brademas (Ind.), O'Hara (Mich.), Carey (N.Y.), Gibbons (Fla.), William Ford (Mich.), Hathaway (Maine), Mink (Hawaii), Scheuer (N.Y.), Meeds (Wash.), Burton (Calif.), Albert (Okla.). Why not write the congressmen who voted for this authorization and ask them how they justify this heavy spending on a scandal-riddled program at the same time the deficit is approaching $30 billion and we are fighting a costly war in Viet Nam?

● Expect liberals on the Senate Judiciary Committee, supported by the White House, to try to strike from LBJ's **"Safe Streets and Crime Control"** bill two riders that would authorize, by court order, the use of wiretapping and electronic bugging devices in major federal criminal investigations and would relax Supreme Court decisions in obtaining confessions.

● Sen. John L. McClellan's criminal procedures subcommittee attached the riders, but they were **vigorously opposed** by Senators Philip A. Hart (D.-Mich.) and Edward M. Kennedy (D.-Mass.).

● Latest "nation" to apply for U.N. membership is **Nauru,** a "country" comprising 8.25 square miles and population of 3,000. Pitcairn Island, which covers less than two square miles, is expected to ask for admission soon. The smallest member to date, the Maldive Islands (pop. 98,000) has, as the New York address of its permanent mission to the United Nations, the office of a postage stamp dealer.

● The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union is supporting **Proposition P** on the November 7 ballot in San Francisco. The proposition asks voters to endorse the statement that San Franciscans want "an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Viet Nam. . . ."

● Former Rep. **Pat Jennings** (D.-Va.), currently the $30,000-a-year clerk of the House, has his mother on the House payroll at $5,384 a year and his daughter at $8,556. In addition, he is using House employes to perform political chores for his son, who is running for the Virginia State Legislature.

● Foreign aid officials maintain that U.S. assistance has enabled the **Polish Communists** to liberalize their dictatorial regime. Tell that to Nina Karsow, a 26-year-old writer recently tried in secret, convicted and sentenced to three years in jail. Her crime? "Writing [an unpublished] literary memoir and possessing notes and material relating to recent political trials."

● How much is LBJ spending? Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), ranking minority member of the Finance Committee, says that during the five years from 1964 through 1968 the **federal deficit** of the Johnson Administration will be in excess of $60 billion—more than $1 billion per month.

● Columnist-editor **William F. Buckley** Jr., who was the subject of a Time magazine cover story last week, has announced his intention of running as an insurgent conservative candidate for the Yale University Board of Trustees.

● Rep. Thomas B. Curtis (R.-Mo.), ranking Republican on the Joint Congressional Economic Committee, has predicted that the **cost of living** will jump between 5 and 6 per cent in 1968, in line with the current inflation rise which is running at an annual rate of 4.5 per cent. After a period of stability, said Curtis, "there has once again been a sharp renewal of increases in wholesale prices of raw materials and industrial goods."

● Harlem is apparently becoming disenchanted with the long-absent **Adam Clayton Powell.** Negro leader Whitney Young was greeted with shouts of "amen, amen," when he told a Harlem church audience that Powell should return home immediately or renounce his claims to his House seat. And Dr. Eugene Callender, director of the Urban League of Greater New York, called on the people of Harlem to "cut out the sentimentality" and to "seek someone else to represent them."

● *Investigators for the House Subcommittee* on Research, headed by Rep. Henry Reuss (D.-Wis.), report that the government is squandering millions of dollars in its far-flung **research activities.** This report, released last week, said that a "walk-through" inspection of the federal laboratory turned up $1.9 million worth of idle equipment that was gathering dust. More than half of this equipment was urgently needed, moreover, in a nearby lab.

● Figures released last week by the Library of Congress cast grave doubt on Sargent Shriver's claim that his Office of Economic Opportunity is winning the "War on Poverty." In November 1964, there were 7.18 million persons on **federal assistance rolls.** In May of this year the figure had risen to 8.48 million—an increase of more than 1.2 million welfare recipients since the poverty program started.

● Sen. **Robert F. Kennedy** is planning to take a tour next year of Communist Eastern European countries, including Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and perhaps the Soviet Union.

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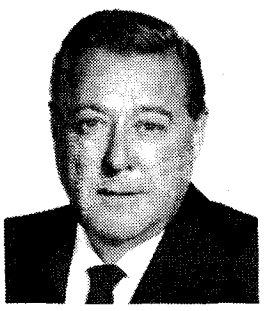
Magnuson Praises Pinko

Chairman Warren Magnuson of the Senate Commerce Committee apparently is willing to do almost anything to get the support of the left-wing International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), the group led by Harry Bridges which was bounced out of the CIO for Communist activities. Up for re-election next year, Magnuson has been desperately pushing East-West trade, a goal that is looked upon with some favor by the Red-tinged union.


MAGNUSON

The October 29 issue of the *Worker*, official newspaper of the U.S. Communist party, also shows the 62-year-old senator showering praise on the late Jeff Kibre, who, up until his death September 27, had been a militant leader in the ILWU for 15 years. Kibre was also known to have been a card-carrying Communist who took the 5th Amendment when asked about his Red affiliations before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee.

Nevertheless, the senator's office confirms the *Worker* report that Magnuson sent this wire to the ILWU's Los Angeles office from Washington, D.C.:

"Impact of Jeff Kibre loss felt as keenly here as there. So many of the statutes on the books in the field of maritime labor will stand as a monument to his work and his beliefs in these programs he helped to build."

More Poverty Scandal

Taxpayers can thank Northern Democrats and liberal Republicans for the fact that the multi-billion-dollar anti-poverty boondoggle is moving quickly through Congress. Passed by the Senate, the $4-billion measure has now been reported out of the House Education and Labor Committee by a 19-to-13 vote and was scheduled for debate on the Floor of the House last week.

The House version of the anti-poverty measure is better than the Senate's, primarily because the committee adopted some amendments sponsored by Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.), a liberal Democrat. These amendments would 1. strip Sargent Shriver of most of his powers and turn control over the community action programs to city governments; and 2. forbid the use of community action funds for such political activities as voter registration drives. (The Democrat-controlled committee, however, beat back a more sweeping proposal to ban politics in anti-poverty programs sponsored by North Carolina Republican James Gardner.)

GREEN

Yet the feeling of many observers is that no amount of amendments can salvage the anti-poverty campaign and voters are raising a rumpus with lawmakers about funding this expensive, scandal-ridden Administration program while the U.S. faces a massive national deficit and a war in Viet Nam.

Just last week, in fact, new evidence came to light revealing more incredible doings in the anti-poverty program.

Sen. John L. McClellan's (D.-Ark.) Permanent Investigations subcommittee, for example, heard testimony that "Black Power" militants seized control of a $600,000 anti-poverty project in Houston, Tex., last summer after OEO officials in Washington had "informally advised" the project to "actively involve the dissenters, the agitators, the troublemakers and the militants in constructive activities."

Samuel Price, acting director of personnel in the Houston Community Action project, said that because OEO's advice was followed, the SNCC variety of militant took control and caused so much trouble that many of them later had to be released.

The Houston Community Action project grew out of the wild disorders on the campus of Texas Southern University during which police exchanged fire with students and one policeman was killed. Price said he had been informed that some of the militants involved said they were promised by the Atlantic headquarters of SNCC that all the guns they needed would be flown in. He also testified to seeing a room full of guns which belonged to black militants.

Out of five persons indicted on charges growing out of the disorders at the university, said Price, two were employes of the OEO-financed summer program. The OEO later pressured the local project to have these two dropped, but only after considerable outrage by Houston citizens and politicians.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

On the House side, hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities last week uncovered more of the same. Committee investigator Herbert Romerstein testified about Jesse Gray, the radical New York rent strike leader who took the 5th Amendment several years ago when asked if he had ever been a member of the Communist party. Romerstein said that Gray, who led an illegal and bloody demonstration in the House gallery this August to get the House to pass the anti-rat bill (which it dutifully did), is a $50-a-day consultant to Harlem Back Street Youth, an OEO-funded project.

GRAY

Gray, related Romerstein, is a strong defender of the pro-Peking Revolutionary Action Movement and a frequent companion of Maxwell Stanford, field secretary for RAM. The FBI describes RAM as "dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence if necessary. . . ." RAM ringleaders were recently charged in New York with a plot to assassinate moderate Negro leaders Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins.

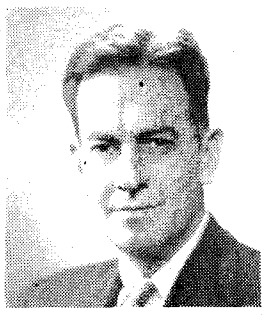
As *Human Events* pointed out last week, the OEO is not at all averse to seeing such radicals getting OEO funds. OEO official George D. McCarthy, assistant director for congressional relations, wrote a letter to Sen. Walter Mondale (D.-Minn.) on August 24 of this year defending the fact that members of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor party and the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs were serving on anti-poverty boards.

McCarthy defended these two organizations by saying that while they both were radical, "neither . . . is included on the attorney general's list of subversive organizations," a list, he neglected to say, that hasn't been in use for several years for various reasons.

Waste also continues to beleaguer Shriver's outfit. A secret General Accounting Office report on the Park Job Corps Center in California revealed that after two years of operation the estimated cost of the center had jumped from $12.8 million to $22.5 million, the dropout rate was 55 per cent and only 8 per cent of the enrollees were placed in jobs related to their training. Thus the question that voters should ask their congressmen: Why are you voting funds for this program?

Case Knifes GOP

Among Republican conservatives (and even moderates) there is a growing feeling that the GOP might be somewhat better off if both Senators Clifford Case and Hugh Scott shed their GOP uniforms and crossed over to the Democratic side of the aisle. Sen. Scott's sabotaging of the GOP has often been recorded, but not too much has recently been said about Sen. Case, who is now greedily eyeing a '68 favorite-son role for himself. New Jersey Republicans, however, should take a closer look at their senior senator before they hand him this honor.


CASE

During the last week in October, the New Jersey "Republican" voted against every major GOP attempt in the Senate to reduce the wild spending schemes of the Johnson Administration: He voted against Sen. John Williams' amendment to limit net expenditures in fiscal 1968 to $131.5 billion, some $5 billion less than the proposed Johnson budget. He cast another "no" to the Dirksen "sense of Congress" resolution instructing Congress to reduce spending by $5 billion unless the President notified that body that he had taken such action himself.

Not having bucked the Republicans enough, he also voted against the Mundt amendment directing the executive branch of the government to reduce spending by approximately 5 per cent. If both Case and Scott had switched their votes from "yes" to "no" on this vote, the Mundt amendment would have passed.

Over the years Case, of course, has made a habit of knifing his fellow Republicans. This year he has also managed to toss a large monkey wrench into the entire Republican effort in the Garden State by endorsing a piece of Democratic legislation that the Republicans have been making a central issue in their campaign to win the state legislature, November 7.

Last spring the Democratic Administration, led by Gov. Richard Hughes, pushed through revisions in the unemployment compensation law which would permit strikers to collect unemployment checks after a six-week period. Only one Republican in both the state senate and state assembly endorsed this incredible bill and Republicans have made it a main issue ever since.

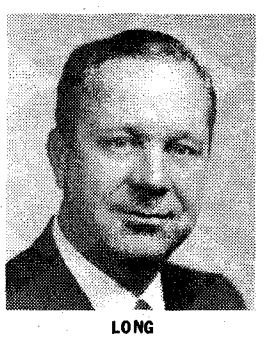
Yet Case, well aware of the GOP opposition, told an audience in New Brunswick, N.J., in August that he would have voted for the law which contained this extraordinary union provision. Case, of course, didn't want to lose the union supporters he has been playing up to all these years, so he endorsed the law.

Such is the way that Case operates and such is the man who now hopes to become the GOP's favorite son at the 1968 presidential convention in Miami.

• The AFL-CIO, by the way, is planning to push for similar legislation in several other states and the union campaign will receive a big boost if the Democrats whip the Republicans in New Jersey.

Demos Gouge Taxpayers Once...

The reckless, wild-spending Democrats on the Senate Finance Committee, pushed by "Populist" Sen. Russell Long (La.), son of Huey Long who turned Louisiana into a miniature welfare state, last week voted to increase Social Security benefits by a whopping 15 per cent—and then voted to stick employers and employes next year with an additional $6 billion in payroll taxes. Republican committee members did not vote on the tax increases because they were opposed to the large benefit hikes. "They have gone too far," Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) said of the Democrats.


LONG

To pay for the benefits, the senators voted to set a huge 10 per cent Social Security tax on a wage base of $8,800 beginning January 1. (The present rate is 8.8 per cent on a maximum of $6,600.) If

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the whole Senate approves and the House goes along, every person earning $8,800 or more will have to pay $440 toward the Social Security trust fund, with an equal amount being put up by his employer. (The bill would further raise the wage base to $10,800 in 1972.)

The tentatively approved piece of legislation means an increase of $149.60—52 per cent—in the maximum payroll tax. Workers making $6,600 a year or more and their employers are now both forced to contribute $290.40 to the Social Security system annually. Under the bill already passed by the House the tax increases would be substantially smaller.

All across the board the Finance Committee voted to increase benefits. Over-all benefits were increased 15 per cent compared with a 12.5 per cent increase by the House. Minimum monthly payments were hiked from the current $44 to $70. Though longevity is increasing, retired workers were given the right to start drawing old-age benefits at the age of 60.

The committee also deleted a "freeze" in the aid-to-dependent-children category and removed the House provision banning aid to a family in which a parent or an out-of-school child over 14 years of age refused "without good cause" to participate in work and training programs.

Asked what he thought of the Senate scheme, Wilbur J. Cohen, a chief pioneer of the Social Security program and now under secretary of health, education and welfare, remarked, "It is a very fine bill."

One reason for Administration warmth toward the measure is that it is a partial, although unadmitted, substitute for LBJ's 10 per cent income tax surcharge—a $7.4-billion proposal that seems nearly dead for this session of Congress. Since the Administration can't rely on the surcharge to fight inflation, it is apparently willing to impede spiraling costs by raising an additional $6 billion through the Sacred Cow of Social Security. It could, of course, fight inflation by just putting a halt to its extravagant spending programs, but that's a course LBJ and his Democratic agents in Congress have no intention of taking.

...And Then Once More

All six Republicans on the Senate Finance Committee have issued a blistering attack against the Administration's campaign subsidy bill (HR 4890), a proposal that has been vigorously championed by Majority Whip Russell Long (D.-La.) and Sen. Albert Gore (D.-Tenn.).

Approved 10 to 7 by the committee, with all Republicans and only one Democrat—Herman Talmadge (Ga.)—opposed, the bill is another federal spending scheme to aid the very lawmakers that are currently running up an astronomical national deficit.

Tagging the proposal a raid on the federal treasury, the Republicans last week assailed the measure as a "poverty program for politicians" which is "utterly indefensible on its face, but in times of soaring budget deficits and demands for higher taxes represents nothing less than a gratuitous slap in the face of every tax-weary American taxpayer.

"At a time when we have record spending, an indicated all-time peacetime deficit, rampant inflation and a request for a 10 per cent surcharge on income taxes, it seems inconceivable that there should be a request for federal subsidizing of candidates for President and the Senate with an invitation for members of the House of Representatives to participate."

The immediate cost of this bill would be large, charged the dissenting senators. The measure would provide $28 million for the two presidential candidates; $26 million more for the senatorial candidates in 1968 and, undoubtedly, a sizable amount for members of the House who have been asked to work out their own subsidy formula.

There is, remarked the senators, no way of knowing what formula the House will come up with, but it should approximate that of the Senate. "We think it is safe to say that this might add $73 million more for a total of some $127 million of public financing. Assuming that $200 million more will be provided by voluntary contributions, the result would be an incredible $327-million campaign fund for candidates for federal office in the 1968 presidential election. There is no justification whatsoever for such an amount."

If enacted, moreover, the legislation might cost taxpayers as much as a billion dollars in the near future, according to some estimates.

Another major flaw in the legislation, contend the Republicans, is its non-voluntary nature. The public financing provisions of this bill are compulsory and would take "money out of the pockets of every taxpayer, not only for the use of candidates of their choice but also for the use of candidates whom they opposed.

"This enforced collection of taxes from taxpayers by the Internal Revenue Service and turning them over to candidates to spend reflects a callous disregard for the preservation of a voluntary system of elections, so essential to the continuation of our system of government."

The Republicans stress, furthermore, that there is discrimination against third parties for several reasons, including the fact that a third party has to get at least 5 per cent of the vote before it gets any financing whatsoever. "It is patently unfair," say the senators, "to take tax money from a supporter of a third party movement and assign it to the two major parties. In this case you are forcing a man to give money to two parties he opposes and denying money to the party he supports."

The proponents of this legislation argue that their measure will make for cleaner elections and make it less likely that candidates will be beholden to any special group. "Yet the bill," claim the Republicans, "fails completely to achieve this end."

Presidential and senatorial candidates can make full use of privately solicited funds for primary contests and can continue to spend unlimited amounts of private funds for their general campaigns, so long as they stop spending funds derived from private contributors 60 days before election day. They then become eligible for full federal financing up to the limits imposed by the bill. Federal financing then becomes, in effect, "a substantial windfall, with the taxpayer footing the bills. . . ."

Nevertheless, the Administration, backed by Democratic liberals, is pushing this scheme through Congress.

• These Republicans on the Senate Finance Committee are opposing this bill: Williams (Del.), Carlson (Kan.), Bennett (Utah), Curtis (Neb.), Morton (Ky.) and Dirksen (Ill.). Democrat opposed: Talmadge (Ga.). The 10 senators who voted to report the bill favorably out of committee are: Long (La.), Smathers (Fla.), Anderson (N.M.), Gore (Tenn.), McCarthy (Minn.), Hartke (Ind.), Fulbright (Ark.), Ribicoff (Conn.), Metcalf (Mont.) and Harris (Okla.).

Soviet Might Bared

The Soviet Union is deploying intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) with a nuclear payload that is several "times greater" than possessed by the United States today. Some Russian ICBMs have warheads of at least 10 to 12 megatons, while the largest the United States has is approximately one megaton.

JACKSON

These are the shocking conclusions of Sen. Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.), whose Joint Atomic Energy subcommittee begins hearings next week on the Administration's plan to construct a "thin shield" of anti-ballistic missiles (ABMs) that will be able to defend the country against Red Chinese, but not Soviet, missiles.

The Soviets have pursued the development of long-range offensive weapons with great determination and single-mindedness, said Jackson. "They have made tremendous strides in accuracy, deployability and payload." Though he was not in a position to discuss numbers, Jackon claimed that Russia last year increased by 50 per cent its number of operational ICBMs, all, he asserted, aimed at specific targets in the United States.

Two years ago, stated Jackson, the United States had a 3-to-1 margin of superiority in ICBMs over the Soviet Union while today it is hardly 3 to 2 and the Russians are fast approaching the goal of parity. Meanwhile, he stated, the Soviet union has maintained 700 to 800 medium and intermediate-range missiles, most of which are targeted on Western Europe.

"We cannot ignore the fact that it was the Soviet Union which acted first to develop long-range ICBMs and the U.S. which followed suit," Jackson insisted. "It is the Soviet Union which has acted first to deploy an ABM, and the United States is following."

The Washington senator revealed, moreover, he was "deeply concerned" with the American tendency to interpret Moscow's military actions as "reflex actions . . . tit for tat." Instead, he believes the Soviets are striving for a nuclear superiority that will enable them to blackmail the United States in the diplomatic field. Conceding that there has been some leavening of Communist dogma, Sen. Jackson stressed, however, that "Khrushchev was not blamed in the Kremlin for what he tried to accomplish by installing missiles in Cuba, but for failing, for biting off more than he could chew."

Pearson Vs. Reagan

Calif. Gov. Ronald Reagan probably blundered politically in the vehemence of his denials of a Drew Pearson column that a "homosexuality ring" had been operating in the governor's office. The Pearson report was typically exaggerated, but two aides of Reagan, it has been established almost beyond doubt, were released several months ago largely because of a strong suspicion of homosexual conduct.

The "evidence" on their behavior that Reagan had, however, was not the sort that could be produced in a court of libel law. Also, since they are now out of government, he had no desire to make the men's lives anymore agonizing than they already are bound to be. Thus, he went out of his way to deny that anyone had been fired because of homosexuality. Nor could he say—unless he wished to slander his former employes—*that he had fired them* for "suspected" moral turpitude. Staking his own reputation to defend theirs, he flatly denied the Pearson charges altogether.

With typical vindictiveness, Pearson not only assailed Reagan but did everything but name the former Reagan aides and other individuals allegedly involved in homosexual activities, thus probably ruining these people's reputations forever. (Ironically, the only nationally known paper to carry the column was the New York *Post* which used to self-righteously condemn the supposed slanders of the late Joseph McCarthy. Other newspapers refused to pinpoint the alleged individuals involved and just wrote of the Pearson charges in general terms.)

Among the various hyperbolic charges leveled by Pearson: that the case was significant because Reagan was critical when President Johnson was faced with a similar situation in 1964 and dropped his assistant Walter Jenkins after he became involved in a homosexual episode.

"Johnson acted immediately," Pearson alleged. "Reagan, on the other hand, waited for about six months." Pearson went on to say that it remains a fact that a "homosexual in the Defense or State Department is automatically fired as a security risk. He can too easily be blackmailed."

Contrary to Pearson, there is no parallel whatsoever between the Jenkins case and the case of Reagan's ex-employes.

For one thing, unlike Jenkins, neither of Reagan's employes was involved in matters affecting the country's national security. Jenkins, on the other hand, had access to top secret information, attended the super-secret meetings of the National Security Council and actually was in charge of White House security matters. Secondly, Jenkins had been with Johnson for over 20 years; Reagan's employes less than a year. Thirdly, Jenkins had a positive police record on homosexuality. He was not only arrested in 1964, but in 1959. Yet Johnson did not see fit to scrap Jenkins, who, by the way, still works for LBJ's TV interests in Austin, until he was picked up by police in 1964 and the Republicans and the press had gotten wind of it. Reagan, on the other hand, rid himself of suspected homosexuals long before any reporters discovered the story.

Thus, Pearson's charges were levelled—not in the national interest—but for the purpose of "getting" Reagan. In doing so, he didn't care whose reputations he had to ruin.

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POLITICS '68

GOLDWATER

At the three-day Western State Republican Conference in Denver, Colo., former Sen. **Barry Goldwater**, interrupted 19 times by cheers and applause, told Republicans to come out for victory in Viet Nam and to forget about toying around with any appeasement, cut-and-run philosophy.

GOLDWATER

Deriding those who say the Republicans should become the "peace party," he declared to an audience of over 1,200: "Be the peace party? We are the peace party. We are the **peace party** because we understand victory.

"Do not let the temptations of weak men with weak ideas tempt you to believe that the partisans of peace must also be the partisans of give up and get out. Far from it.

"The true partisans of peace in this world are those who want to win the peace. The partisans of endless conflict are those who want to buy the **illusion of peace** by giving away the war."

Expected to run for the Senate next year, the Arizonan took a crack at the "tired, tempting voices of appeasement and isolation which we hear speaking in our woodwork from time to time."

The loudest and longest applause came when he denounced "those who attacked our Pentagon and desecrated the Lincoln Memorial."

"Let me say to Ho Chi Minh," Goldwater continued, "that a paltry, lousy, rotten **little bunch of 50,000** out of 200 million do not represent my America."

While maintaining that it is customary in America to back the President when the nation is in trouble, Goldwater made it clear that he will retain the **right of dissent.**

"I have not signed a blank check on my conscience about the war in Viet Nam," he said. "There are points of profound disagreement about the way in which it has been waged, the way it has been defended, the way it has been reported by the President." He declared that while "boys are bleeding and dying the President and his secretary of defense are attempting to wage a war by consensus, of imposing on our fighting men **impossible restrictions** and unrealistic objectives."

In declaring that Republicans will never be the "peace-at-any-price-party," Goldwater was echoing the words of former Vice President Richard Nixon, whom he plans to support for the **GOP nomination** in 1968.

• At a news conference following his speech in Denver, Goldwater reiterated his backing for Nixon and indicated that Gov. **Ronald Reagan** of California would most likely be his second choice. He said he particularly liked the sound of a Nixon-Reagan ticket.

CASE

Sen. **Clifford Case** (R.-N.J.), one of the most far-out GOP liberals, has declared himself available to be a **favorite son candidate** to lead the New Jersey delegation at the 1968 Republican National Convention. Case said he did not want to see "a repeat of 1964 when we ended up with a leaderless, indecisive delegation that split 20-20 between Goldwater and Pennsylvania Gov. William W. Scranton." In effect, Case, who is known to think a good deal of Nelson Rockefeller, wants to make sure the state's delegates go whole hog for a liberal.

AFL-CIO

Next week in Chicago approximately 400 ranking **labor union leaders** will meet to devise ways of organizing working men into a conglomerate "**peace movement**" opposing President Johnson's conduct of the war in Viet Nam. Under the auspices of the Trade Union Division of SANE, a pacifist anti-Viet Nam war group, the National Labor Leadership Council for Peace will have the effect of countering the AFL-CIO's position supporting the war and the endorsement of LBJ by its two top spokesmen, George Meany and Walter Reuther.

REUTHER

Delegates at the two-day conference will hear a series of speeches by such get-out-of-Viet Nam advocates as Rev. Martin Luther King, Socialist Norman Thomas, ADA President John Kenneth Galbraith and leading Senate dove Vance Hartke (D.-Ind.); additionally, there will be six panel discussions, all revolving around Viet Nam and labor's role in the peace movement. "While the scope may be somewhat broader over all," says a SANE Washington official, "the main focus will definitely be Viet Nam."

Despite his personal endorsement of LBJ's '68 re-election, the hand of **Walter Reuther** can be detected behind the conference; his position on Viet Nam differs from that of Meany and the AFL-CIO, and Reuther would like to see his view gain wider support among the rank and file. Although this may upset his friend in the White House, it would also strengthen Reuther's hand in combatting old foe Meany.

The four organizers of the Chicago conference are Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of Reuther's United Auto Workers, Patrick Gorman, who holds the same position with the Meatcutters Union, Frank Rosenblum, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Al Hartung, president of the International Woodcutters; all are considered close to Walter Reuther. Union speakers in Chicago will include Reuther's brother Victor, head of the UAW's International Affairs Department, and Ralph Helstein, head of the Packinghouse Workers and a Reuther ally on the AFL-CIO's Executive Council.

The Wayne County (Detroit) AFL-CIO Council, home powerbase for Reuther, has voted to send two delegates to the conference, one of them its president, Russ Leach. Stanley Greenspan, right-hand man to Vic Reuther in the UAW, has been a prime mover in urging Michigan unions to send delegates to the radical conference. (Also sending delegates is the International Longshoremen's Union, Harry Bridges' California-Hawaii outfit that was booted from the AFL-CIO for Communist infiltration.)

The Chicago conclave represents more, however, than a Reuther attempt to "get back" at George Meany, and could have widespread **repercussions in 1968.** If council organizers succeed in lining up significant rank-and-file support for their anti-Viet Nam position, it could mean LBJ will lose precious Democratic votes to a third party dove ticket.

ROCKEFELLER

New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller told another would-be "**Draft Rockefeller**" committee he isn't interested in the 1968 nomination, but the 1,500-member New York Young Republican group will go ahead with its plans anyway.

Stanley B. Thomas, chairman of the group's board of governors, said the club will launch a "draft Rocky" campaign on November 8.

The **N.Y. Young Republican organization** has supported such public figures as Thomas E. Dewey, Herbert Brownell and Mayor John V. Lindsay.

Behind the "draft Rockefeller" movement, say New York politicos, is Gotham Mayor **John Lindsay.** Should Rockefeller be elected President, they note, Lindsay could then seek the governorship, a position he has coveted for some time. The Albany state house, Lindsay well knows, has traditionally been used as a way station on trips to the White House.

Politicians who see Lindsay behind the "draft" campaign note that the New York YR club is tightly controlled by **his lieutenants.** His top political aide, Sol Davidow, is on the board. The club's executive vice chairman, Jacques L. Debrot, and the board's vice chairman are both officials of the Lindsay administration.

GURNEY

Jim Allison, administrative assistant to Rep. George Bush (R.-Tex.), is leaving his Capitol Hill post to become chief campaign strategist in the effort to elect GOP Rep. **Edward Gurney** to the Senate from Florida. Allison is moving to the Sunshine State this month to take over as executive director of the Draft Gurney for Senate Committee; if all goes as anticipated, Gurney will announce for the Senate next January or February and Allison is expected to be named campaign manager.

GURNEY

Texan Allison, a newspaperman by trade, was assistant campaign manager in Bush's losing race for the Senate in 1964 and campaign manager in his successful '66 House contest. In both outings Allison relied heavily on television to promote his candidate; as this medium is also Gurney's forte, Allison's TV experience is thought to be a major factor in his selection.

Allison's new job may also be important for **Bush's future** as well. Bush narrowly lost to Democratic Sen. **Ralph Yarborough** in '64. If his top campaign aide can have a statewide Senate race under his belt in the interim—such as the Gurney venture—Bush may well feel like taking on Yarborough again in 1970.

DIXIE GOP WIN

Deep in the heart of George Wallace country, a conservative Republican has captured the mayorship from a Democrat who had sturdy support from followers of Wallace, himself. In a run-off election for the mayor of Birmingham, Ala., last week, City Councilman **George Seibels,** who said he was "proud to be a Republican," defeated old-line Democrat George Young.

Although the city election was billed as a non-partisan affair which prohibited parties from making nominations, the run-off race boiled down to something of a two-party clash. Seibels is a Republican, having once served as a member of the Jefferson County Republican committee. Young, a former assistant state attorney general during the administration of Gov. John Patterson, decided to make Seibels' party affiliation a major issue, since a Republican had not **won the mayorship for 100 years.** But Seibels won by 27,709 votes to Young's 25,338. News of Seibels' victory brought this reply from State GOP Chairman Alfred Goldthwaite: He said it was a lesson for all Republicans "in bucking 100 years of one-party domination."

"Apparently being a Republican was no handicap to him," he continued "and we feel that in the coming months this tremendous effort by George Seibels will act as a pivot on which all Republicans throughout the state can take heart, enthusiasm and a certain desire that is necessary to win." Rep. John Buchanan (R.-Ala.), who says Seibels is an outstanding leader in civic affairs, claimed the victory was a "major breakthrough" for the Republicans.

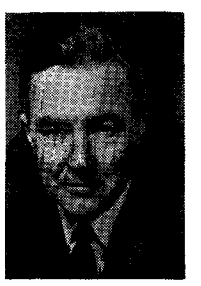
Seibels' race also made nonsense of the liberal claim that conservative Southern Republicans cannot get the Negro vote. Returns revealed that he collected some **43 per cent of this vote.** The GOP victory, say Dixie observers, represents a setback for Wallace, LBJ and the Democrats in general. It may also encourage former Rep. Jim Martin to go against Sen. Lister Hill (D.-Ala.) in 1968. Martin, a conservative Republican, lost to Hill in a squeaker in 1962.

• Reports from California say that former Gov. George C. Wallace is encountering major difficulty in getting on the California ballot as a third-party candidate for President.

Though Wallace has stimulated overflow crowds on his current swing through the state, many of his supporters are unwilling to change their registration from either one of the two major parties to Wallace's American Independent party.

McCARTHY

Dove Democrats have apparently settled on Sen. **Eugene McCarthy** (D.-Minn.), protege of Vice President Hubert Humphrey, to spearhead a campaign to compel Lyndon Johnson to reverse his policy in Viet Nam and get the United States to eventually withdraw any firm presence in that beleaguered country.



McCARTHY

McCarthy has already let it be known that he is **willing to challenge LBJ** in the Democratic primaries next year as the peace candidate. Pushed forward in this role by SANE and Allard K. Lowenstein, a vice chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, McCarthy also seems to have the support of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. Kennedy has refused to squelch the McCarthy plan and says it is "not impractical."

Almost daily McCarthy, who says he is only trying to reverse the Administration's Viet Nam policy and not dump LBJ, has been taking pot shots at the leader of his own party. He recently put into the **Congressional Record** polls purporting to show LBJ's loss in popularity. In a speech appropriately delivered in Berkeley, Calif., McCarthy said that the Democrats should **drop President Johnson** next year unless Secretary of State Dean Rusk resigned.

If Rusk does not resign, said McCarthy, "top Democrats should be prepared to support the men who are willing to carry the flag against the incumbent President of the United States."

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Money and Credit Inflation

How the 'New Economics' Defeats Itself

By HENRY HAZLITT

The Federal Reserve Board, now the docile agency of the Johnson Administration, has been recklessly promoting inflation with one hand while trying to suppress its consequences with the other.

Inflation is directly caused by an increase in the quantity of money.

Between Congress, which is refusing to increase taxes, and the President, who is refusing to reduce any of his record spending requests, the outlook is for the largest federal deficit in 23 years, as well as the 31st deficit in the last 37 years.

The Federal Reserve System has helped to make these deficits possible, and has increased their inflationary impact, by policies that constantly increase the supply of money. Since 1961 the Fed has been increasing the country's money supply (including time deposits) at a rate of 8 per cent a year. Since last December it has raised this rate to more than 12 per cent a year.

Since 1961 consumer prices have increased only 12 per cent, or about 2 per cent a year. In the last two years the annual rate of increase has averaged 3 per cent. As a result of the government's present combined fiscal and monetary policies, the rate threatens to accelerate even further in the next 12 months.

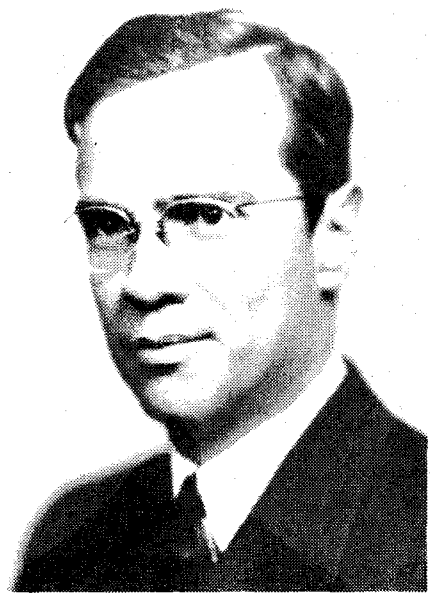
But the Federal Reserve Board seems to be chiefly worried, not about what is happening to people's living expenses, but about what is happening to stocks. There is just too much speculation.

The board already requires any investor in stocks to put up at least 70 per cent in cash. In other words, it forbids a broker or a bank to lend him more than 30 per cent of the value of those stocks to enable him to buy them. Now the board proposes to go further and impose the same regulations on the purchase of convertible bonds or on hitherto "unregulated lenders."

The legal power of the Fed to do this has existed since 1934, when the Securities Exchange Act was passed. Yet when one comes to think of it, this is a very questionable power for a branch of the government to have. You can imagine the howls of protest that would go up if the government were to decree that, in order to keep down speculation in real estate, no property buyer would be allowed to borrow more than 30 per cent toward the cost of a home.

The government would never dare to do that, of course. In fact, when it comes to houses, the government not only allows the buyer to borrow as much as anybody is willing to lend, but for a low-cost house it is willing to risk the taxpayers' money to insure a loan for practically the whole cost of the property. This presumably is because home owning is virtuous and stock owning is wicked.

The net result, however, is this. On the one hand the Fed flagrantly increases the supply of money and credit. This pours in all directions. One of the places it pours into is the stock market.



The Federal Reserve Board, headed by William McChesney Martin (above), has increased money supply about 12 per cent since last December.

In fact, people buy stocks as a hedge against the Fed's inflation. But then the Fed denounces the very speculation its own policies have brought about and blames Wall Street.

But the money and credit inflation that causes increased speculation in stocks also causes increased speculation in real estate and among other things raises the cost of homes. One of the excuses the Fed gives for increasing credit and money is to hold down interest rates, but the stimulus the new money gives to speculation and higher prices in the long run only increases interest rates.

The "new economics" defeats itself.

(Copyright 1967, Los Angeles *Times*)

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Anti Anti-Red Hiss

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Alger Hiss, who served 44 months in prison after being convicted of lying when he denied charges he passed government secrets to Whittaker Chambers, admitted spy for the Communists, has discovered the memory of some Americans is short.

Hiss was given warm applause when he lectured recently at the New School for Social Research in New York City. He told listeners that the reforms of President Franklin D. Roosevelt were obscured by "rampant reaction" created in the 1950s by the anti-Communist investigations of the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin.

Hiss gave one of four lectures on the New Deal at the school. If this is the caliber of speaker the school has chosen to talk on anti-communism, we wonder who the other three lecturers were. Al Capone, if he were still alive, might have been invited to talk on how the government harassed bootleggers during the prohibition era.

Al, at least, didn't sell out the United States.

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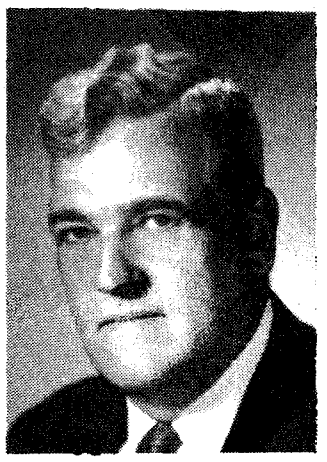

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U.S. Viet Nam Policy Based On Monumental Self-Deception

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

The nature of the Johnson "restraint" in bombing North Viet Nam has been withheld from the public for two years. It was known, of course, that Haiphong Harbor and the city of Hanoi were off limits to our airmen, but only recently have we learned about the specific enemy targets being protected by Administration policy.

We learn, for example, that the assembly plant for SAM missiles has recently been hit for the first time. The Phuc Yen airfield, the chief enemy airbase in North Viet Nam, the key facility for air supply of North Viet Nam, had been exempt from attack for two years before it was hit recently. In two years of a massive build-up of North Viet Nam's air defense system, our pilots have been prohibited from striking the critical bottlenecks at which the build-up could have been crippled. Instead, they have been sent out to bomb missiles and planes after these weapons have been dispersed in operating positions.

What species of madness has constrained the United States to follow such a policy? That is the vital question. The answer is two-fold. It is the McNamara conception of waging war. It is the Rusk conception of a prudent foreign policy.

Secretary McNamara has persuaded President Johnson that the danger of a military initiative precipitating nuclear war requires the President to make the detailed decisions about target selection. Of course the President is not competent to make these decisions. He is bound and limited by the information which Secretary McNamara chooses to put before him.

Secretary Rusk has persuaded President Johnson that the danger of nuclear war requires the United States to reduce tensions and eliminate conflicts with the Soviet Union. He places priority emphasis upon the cultivation of concord with Moscow. This is why the United States promotes trade which strengthens the Soviet bloc even as the Soviet Union wages a satellite war of aggression against our ally in South Viet Nam.

But this policy has no foundation in reason nor in history to commend it. Appeasement only enhances the determination of the conqueror to achieve his aims. It whets his appetite and confirms his expectations.

Our own experience condemns the policy. Roosevelt's hopes of bringing the Soviet Union into the family of civilized nations through recognition led up to the Stalin-Hitler pact. British appeasement of Hitler led to World War II. Roosevelt's concessions to allied unity during the war turned Eastern Europe over to Stalin. The "Spirit of Camp David" delivered Cuba to communism. The flowering of this ancient illusion in the Kennedy peace offensive was the cause of the war in Viet Nam. In Latin America the continuing Communist assault testifies to the durability of Soviet ambitions of conquest.

Between the Rusk anvil and the McNamara hammer, President Johnson is embarked on the most monumental venture in self-deception in the annals of the great powers. That is why U.S. foreign policy appears to observers as an incomprehensible flight from reality.

The credibility gap is not alone in what President Johnson is saying. More importantly, it is in what he is doing. U.S. foreign policy defies common sense.

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While YAF members are not about to start burning their draft cards like those above, columnist Chamberlain notes the dangers of associating with leftist organizations.

Youth vs. the Draft

Are young conservatives wise to make common cause with the left in fighting conscription?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

How sincere is the Left in opposing the military draft? Are its members against state compulsion as a general proposition, or are they merely against this particular draft for this particular war in Viet Nam?

The issue is of some importance from a long-term point of view, for young conservatives (the Young Americans for Freedom, for example) and young radical leftists (the National Student Association) have been making common cause in agitating for voluntary military service.

The deeper question is whether there is a real movement among all of the young toward the old American idea that rights, including a person's right to his body, are "inalienable," or whether they are mere gifts of the state—in which case they are not rights at all, but simply permissions to be revoked by a majority vote.

If a united front of conservatives and radicals against compulsion continues to exist after the war in Viet Nam is over, we could be in for a new order of politics.

One can be sure that the young conservatives are principled in their opposition to compulsion, for they are currently embroiled in a long-term philosophical argument with Mrs. Gladys O'Donnell, the new president of the National Federation of Republican Women, who recently made a speech in California in favor of a compulsory national stint under military-type supervision for every boy when he reaches the age of 16.

"I would suggest," so Mrs. O'Donnell has been quoted as saying, "that there could be a two-year compulsory education for young men on the junior college level. They would live in barracks, learn to hang up their clothes, make their beds and keep themselves clean. Each young man would be screened for talent and aptitude and placed accordingly. He would finish his two years with a sense of self-discipline and respect, and his own abilities would have been developed."

One can sympathize with Mrs. O'Donnell's concern for cleanliness and the proper making of beds, but, as David Jones, the executive director of Young Americans for Freedom, has observed, the institution of a "compulsory education program under a form of military-like supervision" would be "totalitarian in form, authoritarian in philosophy, and fascist in effect."

Granted that American parents have been deplorably deficient in teaching their children the virtues of self-discipline, it does not follow that the state makes a good substitute for the home or for voluntary disciplinary groups.

The odd thing about Mrs. O'Donnell's speech in favor of regimenting the 16-year-olds is that she went on in the same talk to attack the federal government for "taking to power like a duck to water." It didn't occur to her that the same power-hungry government would be in charge of running the "barracks" for the 16-year-olds.

In campaigning for a voluntary military force to replace what it calls "the inequitable, economically wasteful, Selective Service System," the Young Americans for Freedom are keeping their agitation within the law. They want to work through congressional channels to repeal the compulsory draft.

This is in contrast to the attitude of the 3,000 demonstrators at the University of California in Berkeley who massed to march on the Oakland Army Induction Center in an effort to "close it down."

James Burnham, a veteran of the anti-Communist wars who has just written a penetrating book called *The War We Are In,* has warned young conservatives against making a united front with the Left for a voluntary army.

His objection to a Left-Right alliance is based on his own experience with the Left in the 1930s, when the Communists invariably used the united front tactic to subvert their allies' organizations. But the danger in the current united front to oppose the idea of the draft is not that the Left will penetrate and destroy such groups as Young Americans for Freedom. The real danger is that the Left will run out on the anti-compulsion idea once this particular war in Viet Nam is over. Leftists have never minded state compulsion when it is going their way.

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J. P. Stevens vs. Organized Labor

A Case History of How Government Creates Union Power

BY M. J. LEFKOE

Several years ago a leader of the United Automobile Workers frankly admitted: "All of the things we fought for, the corporation is now giving the workers. What we have to find are other things the workers want which the employer is not willing to give him, and we have to develop our program around these things as reasons for belonging to the union."

Automobile industry executives currently faced with the UAW's demand for a guaranteed annual income have discovered the hard way what these "other things" are. But unions have not been relying solely on new programs in their attempt to retain old members and obtain new members.

Businessmen have long been painfully aware of how the government has provided aid and comfort to unions in their organizing drives.

Few are unaware of the National Labor Relations Board's determination to encourage and promote collective bargaining by forcing unwilling employes into unions without regard for the law, the rights of employers, and the desires of the employes involved—by gerrymandering the bargaining unit so that the union will have a better chance of winning the election; by accepting a card signed by an employe requesting an election as proof that the employe necessarily wants to be represented by a union, even if the union has lost an election; by prohibiting employers from telling their employes about the disadvantages of belonging to unions.

Powerful New Weapon

But in a continuing campaign by the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) and the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO (IUD) to organize employes of J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc., the legal and extra-legal assistance provided by the NLRB and other arms of the government is more biased and extreme than has ever been provided before in a single organizing drive.

If these new forms of government help prove successful in the Stevens campaign, the entire union movement will have found a powerful new weapon to use against other firms in other industries. The result would be a significant increase in union membership (and union coercive power) without any increase in the number of employes who actually wish to become members.

A new approach to organizing based on even more government help than unions have long been receiving would come at a time when the union movement is finding it increasingly difficult to recruit new members. Union membership reached 25.2 per cent of the total labor force at its high point in 1953 and has been in a downward trend ever since.

The two major broad areas of still unorganized employes are white collar workers and the growing industrial South. The former group has repeatedly indicated its lack of interest in union representation. But the seven million or so non-agricultural workers employed in nine Southern states continue to dangle like a tempting plum before the eyes of union leaders.

The first major union organizing drive in the South during the late 1920s and early 1930s, and "Operation Dixie" in the 1950s, met with little success. The latest campaign, involving 23 different unions, began early in 1963. Spearheading the drive were the IUD and the TWUA, the latter representing only 60,100 of the South's 600,000 textile workers.

Their major target was J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc., a 154-year-old firm headed by Robert T. Stevens, secretary of the army during the Korean War. Stevens owns a total of 73 plants with 44,000 employes, about 28,000 of them located in 43 plants in the Carolinas. It was at 25 of these plants that the IUD and TWUA began their drive against the nation's second largest textile firm.

Jim Pierce, who heads the IUD's Southeast Regional Office, declared at the time: "If we can crack Stevens—and we will—it will automatically follow that people in the other textile plants will want to unionize to obtain the wages and other benefits won there. That undoubtedly would ease the way for organizing of plants other than textiles."

Union leaders decided on different tactics in this third major attempt to crack the South. There would be no violence this time, nor anything else which employers could claim was illegal. But even more important, plans were made to insure success regardless of whether employes voted for or against the union in NLRB-conducted elections. As reported in the Charlotte *Observer* shortly after the union campaign began: "The IUD is employing new tactics in the Stevens campaign in that it is attempting to muster all the forces of federal labor legislation at the outset."

Although handbilling and informal talks with Stevens' employes began early in 1963, the IUD waited 18 months before it petitioned the NLRB for a representation election. (When three elections and one rerun finally were held, covering employes at eight plants chosen by the unions, the vote was overwhelmingly against the TWUA.)

During that interval and ever since, the IUD and the TWUA have engaged in a massive publicity campaign to brand Stevens as a "flagrant" lawbreaker which the government must punish—a campaign aided and abetted by several arms of the government.

After charging that Stevens had engaged in unfair labor practices by discharging several employes because of their union activities, the labor organization convinced the board to take the rare step of making use of Section 10(j) of Taft-Hartley, which authorizes the board to petition a U.S. District Court for a temporary injunction to restrain the commission of unfair labor practices. On three separate occasions the injunction was denied.

Meanwhile, union complaints of illegal discharges continued to mount at the board's regional office. After accumulating these charges for several months, the board began hearings before a trial examiner on March 24, 1964. Almost six months later, 443 witnesses had produced a transcript of over 11,000 pages.

Finally, on July 26, 1965—almost two years after the first unfair labor practices charge—the trial examiner handed down a decision in which he held that Stevens had engaged in "massive and deliberate unfair labor practices," and ordered the company to reinstate 69 employes with back wages plus 6 per cent interest. (As a result of modifications in the first case by the full board and three subsequent cases ruled on by the NLRB, additional employes were held to be illegally discharged by Stevens, making a current total of 105.)

The trial examiner's gratuitous remark that the alleged illegal discharges had been "massive and deliberate" is a theme which has been echoed repeatedly by the union, the board, and other government officials who have been providing the union with assistance.

Conflict in Testimony

But at the 20 plants where the board found a total of 89 allegedly illegal discharges during 1963-1964 (the first two cases), Stevens was forced to terminate the employment of 1,420 for various reasons. Thus, the board's claim of "massiveness" consists of an average of slightly more than two employes per plant per year, only a little more than 6 per cent of the total number of involuntary terminations, and only 6/10 of 1 per cent of the total employment at those plants.

As the company pointed out in its appeal of the first board decision before the U.S. Court of Appeals: "Not once in case of conflict of testimony on a material question of fact—*not once did the trial examiner find any witness for the* [company] *to be telling the truth, or the conflicting testimony of witnesses for the union and the board to be anything but the truth!*" (Emphasis in original.) In the third round the trial examiner explicitly admitted that "where there has been a direct conflict in testimony of witnesses called by the [company] and those put on the stand by the [NLRB's] General Counsel, I have in the main credited the testimony adduced by the General Counsel."

This same trial examiner went on to claim that he was convinced that "many of the witnesses of the [company] testified as they did pursuant to a policy, made at a higher level of management than theirs, to defeat this union's organizational effort at the cost, if necessary, of committing unfair labor practices and then denying the unlawful acts in the process."

It certainly is *possible* that the top management of Stevens did deliberately order the discharge of 105 employes because of their union activity and then order its witnesses to lie. But is it *probable?*

The answer lies primarily in an understanding of the method used by the examiners in reaching the conclusion that a total of 105 employes were discharged because of their union sympathy.

In the four Stevens cases (and in most other similar discharge cases), the company provided evidence that the discharged employes had done poor work, had failed to follow instructions, had gone to sleep on the job, etc. But the Court of Appeals which found against Stevens in the first case noted in its decision that even "a discharge motivated *only in part* by anti-union discrimination is . . . illegal." (Emphasis added.)

Thus, it is almost always possible for an examiner to conclude that anti-union motivation is present in the discharge of a union sympathizer by a company which has voiced its opposition to a union. Similarly, it is almost impossible for an employer who has admitted he opposes a union to prove that no part of his motive in discharging an employe favoring union representation was connected with that fact.

(It is significant to note in this connection that in the fourth round, the trial examiner admitted that "much of the evidence" used to prove illegal motivation for the discharges is found "in the decisions resulting from the three earlier cases. . . . There is very little evidence of union activities by the three employes directly involved in this case, or direct proof of union animus as to them" by the company. In other words, Stevens was found guilty of illegally discharging the employes covered in the fourth case based on evidence of anti-union animus adduced in the previous cases.)

Illegality of Discharges

Thus, the method used by the board examiners is itself sufficient to raise a serious doubt regarding the illegality of the 105 discharges alleged to be unfair labor practices. And if doubt is cast on the illegality of the discharges, then it also becomes necessary to challenge the trial examiner who stated that the "massiveness" of the discharges could *only* be explained by a decision "at the top" to get rid of everyone connected with the union.

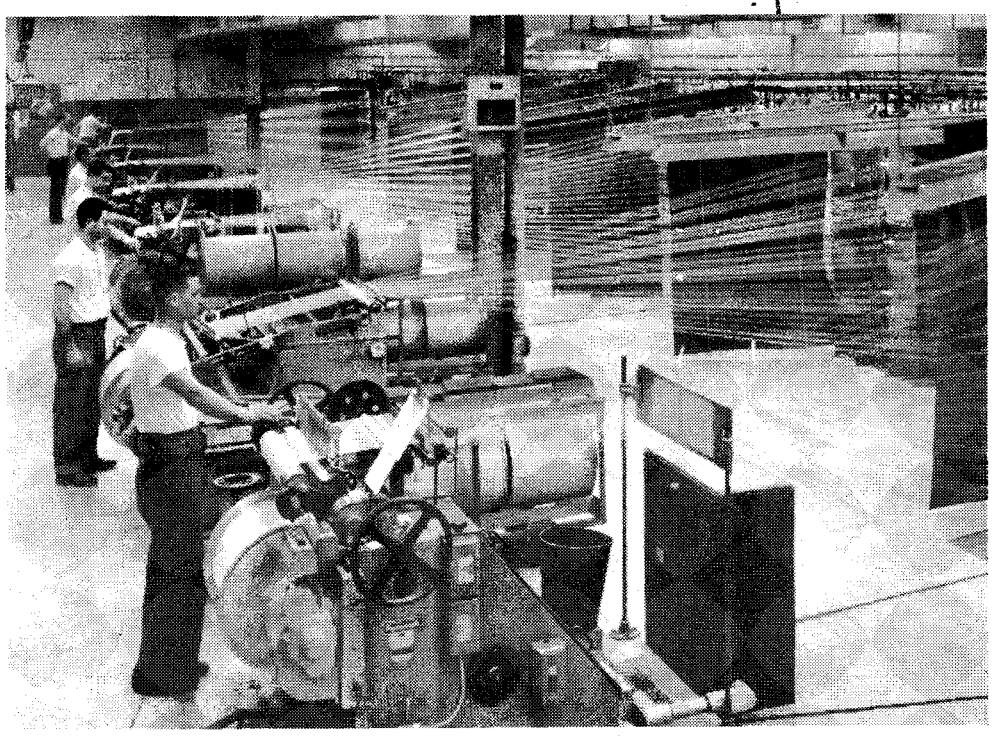
There are still other factors which help to explain the discharge of 105 employes shortly after they signed union cards.

After interviewing company officials, union officials, employes currently working at Stevens' plants—some of whom had worked with the union—and employes who had been discharged, I believe that in at least a few cases an explanation offered by Stevens in an affidavit is accurate: "There were some [employes] who, during this period of time, either carelessly or intentionally became extremely negligent in their work—so much so that they seemed to be inviting or defying management to take disciplinary action against them."

Several employes told me that the union "promised to take care of them" and provide them with enough money to make car and house payments and buy food if they were fired. Some employes were even promised jobs.

I was told that the union repeatedly stated that the board would force Stevens to reinstate any employe who was discharged, if he informed the company that he was supporting the union. Several employes agreed that, as a result of the union promises, some of the discharged employes began to act like "privileged characters" after notifying the company that they had signed a card requesting a union election, and that they deserved to be fired.

In view of the blatant misconduct engaged in by some employes who had signed union cards, it appears extremely likely that the union encouraged at least a few to deliberately get themselves fired in order to make a good case against the company before the board. Other employes probably took it upon themselves to see how far they could push the company before getting fired, knowing that the union would "take care of them" if



The J. P. Stevens operation is a widely scattered one, with offices and plants throughout the United States. Above, a textile plant in Wallace, N.C.

Mr. Lefkoe is president of his own political-economic consultant firm specializing in labor relations. The author of numerous magazine and newspaper articles, he is currently writing a book on collective bargaining.

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they pushed too far and were discharged.

Some other discharges seem to be the result of hasty action taken by supervisors who were concerned with maintaining discipline in the plant. They were afraid that if a union sympathizer appeared to get away with anything improper, other employes would be encouraged to join the union in order to be able to "goof off" also.

As a result, some employes who had signed union cards probably were discharged for things which normally would not have been grounds for discharge, but which many other employes would have thought the union sympathizer got away with *because* of his union interest.

Finally, a few employes might have been fired by their supervisor because of their union activity. Aware of the problems that unionization would bring, a few supervisors probably took it upon themselves without legal advice to keep the union out by any means possible.

In any case, the board's assumption that every one of the 105 discharges held to be illegal was due solely to an order from the top to fire every union sympathizer cannot be substantiated. (At one plant alone, management had official notification that 72 employes had signed union cards; of these, 20 are still on the payroll and 34 left the company voluntarily.)

Although the board's finding of "massive and deliberate" discharges has been an immense help to the unions' propaganda campaign, it is the remedies imposed by the NLRB which will provide the unions with their greatest weapon in organizing Stevens' employes.

The normal board remedy in cases such as these is to order the employer to reinstate the employes found to be illegally discharged, to pay them back wages from the date they were discharged plus 6 per cent interest, and to post a notice on the company bulletin boards at plants where the discharges took place stating that the company will not interfere with or discriminate against employes who indicate a desire for union representation.

'Imaginative' Remedies

In handing down its decisions in the first two cases, the NLRB stated that it found the "conventional" remedies inadequate. It therefore ordered Stevens to sign and post the notice, not only in the 20 plants where the alleged illegal discharges occurred, but in *all 43 of its Carolina plants*. In addition to posting the notice, the board ordered Stevens to mail a copy of it to every one of its 28,000 employes in the Carolinas. It then ordered Stevens to "convene during working time, by departments and by shifts, all its employes" at all 43 Carolina plants and "read to them" the notice.

The final remedy in the first decision was for Stevens to give the union access to the company's bulletin boards for a period of one year. In the board's second decision an additional "imaginative" remedy was ordered: Stevens must give the union the names and addresses of all of its employes at the 43 Carolina plants.

In ruling on the first case, the court rejected the board's order that Stevens turn over its bulletin boards to the unions. In response to the company's argument

Robert T. Stevens, a former secretary of the army, heads the J. P. Stevens textile firm.

that reading the notice would be a violation of the constitutional protection against being forced to admit one's guilt, the court offered Stevens the alternative of having an NLRB representative rather than one of its own officials read the notice to employes, and limited the reading to the plants where unfair labor practices were found, rather than at all 43 plants.

All of the board's admittedly "unusual" remedies will provide the unions with significant help in organizing all of Stevens' employes. But even more: the remedies have the effect of ordering Stevens to help the union organize its own employes—in violation of the act which prohibits an employer from contributing any form of "support" to a labor organization.

As another circuit court commented in ruling on a different NLRB case where the company had been ordered to publicly "confess its guilt":

"Recently, this same remedy was before the second circuit in the J. P. Stevens case. . . . While recognizing the humiliating aspect of such a forced reading, that circuit attempted to alleviate the indignity by giving the company the choice of reading the notice or having a representative of the board read it to the employes. This procedure, however, creates a problem more severe than the one it supposedly solves.

NLRB Not Neutral

"The practical effect of the exercise of the option is to put the imprimatur of the board on both a particular union's activities, as well as on union activities in general, by having a representative of the board read a notice resulting from unfair labor practices which arose because of, and from, company activity in opposition to a union's organization activities. It follows, then, that the board is in the position of not being completely neutral, although that is the position which the board is legally duty bound to take."

The court went on to state, as had Stevens in its own appeal brief, that: "The ignominy of a forced public reading and a 'confession of sins' by any employer, any employe, or any union representative makes such a remedy incompatible with the democratic principles of the dignity of man."

The labor board's findings of "fact," its gratuitous remarks about Stevens' allegedly "deliberate" illegal behavior, and its "unusual" remedies eventually were publicized loudly and widely by the IUD and the TWUA. But the news release put out by the board itself and distributed throughout the country (without giving Stevens any advance notice) provided the press with its first notice of its initial decision.

A reporter receiving the three-page release was told on the first page that Stevens had "unlawfully discharged" employes "in an anti-union campaign marked by 'flagrant unlawfulness'"; that "the board directed an unusual remedy 'to undo the effect of the massive and deliberate unfair labor practices'"; and that the Stevens company engaged in "widespread and persistent statutory violations" which led to "an atmosphere of fear throughout the company's manufacturing operations."

It is unlikely that the public relations men working for the TWUA and the IUD could have written a release which would have better served the union's purpose.

Another series of events which took place in President Johnson's office and the Department of Labor shows the lengths to which the union hierarchy was willing to go to break Stevens—and the amount of cooperation it was able to obtain from the government.

This episode began with an official policy declaration of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO which, making good use of a quote from an NLRB decision, stated: "It is clearly a gross violation of the public interest for the federal government to enrich a corporation which 'flagrantly, cynically and unlawfully' defies a federal statute. Yet this is what the government is doing in the case of J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc. . . . It is our view that a company that is openly contemptuous of any federal law—as is Stevens and others—should be disqualified as a federal contractor."

After an abortive attempt to get the Department of Defense to blacklist Stevens, the AFL-CIO passed another resolution which authorized and directed its president, George Meany, to "acquaint the President of the United States with the views of this council and to urge that he take effective steps to end this national disgrace."

A union delegation headed by Meany and including William Pollock, president of the TWUA, visited President Johnson late

William Pollock, president of the Textile Workers Union, attempted to get LBJ to intercede in the labor dispute.

in March of this year. According to newspaper reports of the meeting, the President declined to issue an executive order as the union requested, but did state that he favored legislation designed to accomplish the unions' aims.

Undaunted by the refusal of DOD and the President to comply with their demands, Pollock sent a telegram to the secretary of labor protesting his department's allocation of funds for two on-the-job training programs totaling about $100,000 which had been awarded to Stevens. The telegram was sent on April 5, 1967. The next day Stevens received teletype messages from the Atlanta regional director of the Department of Labor telling it to suspend all work on the two training contracts; on May 1 both contracts were officially cancelled.

A letter written by Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz explaining the reason for cancelling one of the contracts states that "the training program was terminated as not being 'in the best interest of the government' in the light of application regulations . . . [which] require among other things that no abnormal labor condition such as a strike, a lock-out or other similar condition exist at the establishment before entering into a training agreement."

Secretary Wirtz apparently did not realize that strikes and lock-outs occur only when a union has exclusive bargaining rights for a company's employes—a situation which does not exist at Stevens. Stevens has been unable to obtain any information whatsoever regarding the cancellation of the other contract.

The latest example of government aid has come from Capitol Hill, where Rep. Frank Thompson Jr.'s (D.-N.J.) Special Subcommittee on Labor has held hearings, in response to a union request, on the "inadequacies" of board remedies in discharge cases.

Mr. Thompson has been of major help to the unions involved in the Stevens campaign for some time. Shortly after the board's first Stevens decision he rose on the floor of the House to make a lengthy speech summarizing the union campaign at Stevens, describing the details of the allegedly illegal discharges in vivid terms, quoting the harshest accusations from the first board decision, and suggesting that double or triple damages be assessed against those "who have been deliberate or repeated or flagrant in the violation of our laws."

He ended his denunciation of Stevens by recommending that the Walsh-Healey and Davis-Bacon Acts be amended to "give the contracting agencies of our government power to withhold contracts from companies which the labor board finds to be in open, flagrant, knowing, and purposeful

Continued on page 12

Darlington Case: More NLRB Antics

The NLRB's blatant attempt to help the TWUA organize employes at J. P. Stevens plants is by no means a unique situation. The board has made a regular practice of doing its utmost to help unions obtain new members—whether the employes involved desire union representation or not—and to penalize employes for opposing unions.

The Darlington Manufacturing Co. case, which began 11 years ago, is another good example of how far the board is willing to go in order to promote unionism.

In 1956, shortly after the TWUA organized employes at Darlington, the company's board of directors decided to close the plant. The company had been losing money for several years and the additional wages which the union would force it to pay would make operations too costly to continue. Unwilling, however, to lose 500 dues-paying members without a fight, the TWUA attempted to get help from the board.

It succeeded beyond its wildest expectations.

Despite the fact that there had been a circuit court ruling that a company has an absolute right to close its business for any reason, the board ruled that in its opinion Darlington had gone out of business primarily to avoid having to deal with the union and that therefore the company was guilty of an unfair labor practice.

Then the board ordered Deering Milliken, Inc., a major textile sales organization which owned stock in about 29 mills, to pay back wages to some 500 employes who lost their jobs when Darlington closed its plant. Moreover, it ruled that wages would have to continue to be paid until the discharged employes found "substantially equivalent" employment.

In fact, Deering Milliken had no legal responsibility for the actions of Darlington, even though some of its stockholders also owned stock in the "guilty" firm. Nevertheless, the board ruled that Deering Milliken would have to assume liability for the back-pay award. (It has been estimated that over $10 million in back pay has been accumulated during the past 11 years).

The NRLB suffered a temporary setback when the Fourth Circuit Court overruled its decision, but it did not let the TWUA down: It appealed to the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court agreed with the lower courts that a company may go out of business for any reason, but it qualified its ruling in special situations: It distinguished between a company owning a single plant, which goes completely out of business—and a company owning or controlling several plants, which closes only one of them. In the latter situation, "a partial closing is an unfair labor practice under Section 8(a)(3) if motivated by a purpose to chill unionism in any of the remaining plants of the single employer and if the employer may reasonably have foreseen that such closing would likely have that effect."

The court remanded the case to the board with instructions to apply these guidelines in re-examining the facts. A board trial examiner held new hearings and dismissed the case when he found that the company had not broken the law as spelled out by the court.

That should have been the last chapter in the NLRB's sordid attempt to aid the TWUA. But it wasn't. The full board overruled its examiner and again found the company guilty.

The NLRB's ruling is so at variance with the facts of the case, the Supreme Court's ruling, the findings of its own trial examiner and the principles of logic, that it is difficult even to explain the "reasoning" used by the board in reaching its decision. There was no evidence on the record to prove that Deering Milliken was responsible for Darlington's closing, that anyone at all was motivated to close Darlington in order to "chill unionism" at the Deering Milliken plants, that such effect was foreseen by anyone or that the attitude of any employe toward union representation was affected by the Darlington closing.

Both Darlington and Deering Milliken are now appealing the latest NLRB ruling to the courts.

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Dr. Benitez of the Univ. of Puerto Rico

How One Educator Has Handled Student Agitators

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

American college presidents, confused by demands for "academic freedom" that are producing academic chaos, would do well to sit at the feet of Dr. Jaime Benitez, president of the University of Puerto Rico.

On October 19 Dr. Benitez described to members of the Inter-American Press Association the process of destroying a university in the holy name of intellectual liberty. The system is old. It has been employed in Latin America for many years. It is a process by which activist groups, usually Communist-led, have disrupted classes, driven away professors, made an academic program difficult or impossible and eventually turned the campuses into seedbeds of revolution.

The purpose of destroying the teaching abilities and the studious atmosphere of universities is both simple and logical. Universities that are permitted to function as universities are dangerous to the promoters of violent upheaval. Freedom to teach, as opposed to freedom to riot, eventually produces a stable middle class and progress toward reform and justice under the framework of law. This is no help to a Communist program.

The little Puerto Rican educator has watched the progress of the Vietnamese war rioters, the draft card burners, the free love advocates, the partisans of "pot" and such on American campuses with rare understanding. For it was 50 years ago at the University of Cordoba in Argentina when the theory that students (or at least the most vocal, violent and reckless students) must be permitted to control universities in the name of reform was first established.

Therefore, what many bewildered American college educators are imagining is a new phenomenon. Possibly solely related to the "agony" in the Orient, it is in fact an old ploy polished to perfection by a political philosophy that has all the regard for human freedom that is found in Castro's Cuba.

Quoting Dr. Benitez:

"The deteriorating impact of political agitation is well known to my Latin American friends who have suffered in their countries the educational disadvantage of highly politicized institutions.

University of Puerto Rico President Jaime Benitez notes that a university can be destroyed in the name of "intellectual liberty."

But it is a new, perplexing and at points fascinating experience in the United States, where some spokesmen for progressive education seem entranced by the new vistas of 'total freedom.'

"Clever arguments allow the New Left to disguise their attack upon the task of preserving and spreading the noble, creative and civilized life that is identified with the highest achievements of the university.

"Thus we see Jean Jacques Rousseau in new garb, preaching a return to nature and the triumph of emotion over intelligence; John Dewey's rule—that one learns by doing—is transformed into the thesis that the school is the best place to experience everything, including material and intellectual vices. Henry David Thoreau's 'civil disobedience' is turned into the right to make my own laws, even if it means returning to the Hobbesian times where no obligations of the social contract existed and life was raw, nasty, brutish and short."

Dr. Benitez runs a successful university. In 20 years it has grown from 6,000 to 30,000 students. Its 50,000 graduates have made an immense difference in the economy of the island. And this has been accomplished under its president's dictum that his university is "a house of study."

The only kind of a revolution that pays genuine social dividends, he says, is achieved as a result of free inquiry, devotion to learning and quiet contemplation as opposed to incessant soapboxing and endless campus commotion.

It seems fantastic that many American college presidents are so frightened of being accused of thought-control that they do not dare ask of their students any measure of good manners and self-restraint. Yet anyone with brains enough to get a Ph.D. ought not to have much trouble in finding out how there can be both a wide area of free inquiry within a climate of calmness and good manners.

The discussion in a campus hall of a far-out or even idiotic idea by its perspiring proponents does not disrupt the right of disinterested students to pursue their own interests. But the picket lines around the administration building, the lie-down on the campus street or the mob swarming around the orator on the student union steps are efforts to impose anti-academic conditions upon the whole academic community.

No freedom lies in that direction. As Howard Mumford Jones of Harvard has said:

"The college is neither a mental hospital nor an auditorium for loud debate. It demands sterner and more dedicated allegiance. Its life is the life of the mind, not of the subconscious; its contribution to social welfare is appraisal, not crusading. Health and sanity are its requisites and a proper understanding of what intellectual liberty truly means."

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State Censors for Textbooks?

By RUSSELL KIRK

Ethnic groups are overshooting their mark in more ways than one. At the moment, I refer to pressure on textbook publishers and public school systems, in several states, to insert in school manuals material favorable to minorities—particularly in history textbooks.

It is true that too often social science textbooks and the like have been written as if all American life had been lived in affluent white Protestant suburbs. This should be remedied, but not by formal censorship and not by exaggeration in an opposite direction.

Last year in Michigan for instance, the legislature passed a statute requiring public *and private* schools to use textbooks recognizing the achievements of "minority groups." A State Advisory Committee on Social Studies Textbooks has begun to review history books for this purpose and will proceed to review textbooks in civics, economics, geography, government, sociology and psychology.

Absurdities may result. As an adviser to various publishing firms and educational foundations, I know the difficulties in which advisers are placed by such arbitrary interference from on high.

Not long ago, one such publisher asked me to discover prominent Negroes in American colonial times who might be praised in his manuals. I replied that there had been none before the American Revolution. During the Revolution, indeed, there was only one colored man who historians have noted—an obscure Boston stevedore named Crispus Attucks, who happened to get in the way of a bullet during the Boston Massacre. Are we to give Attucks space equal to that allocated to Washington, Adams and Jefferson?

During the early period of our history, of course, there were few eminent Jews and not many eminent Catholics. There were next to no Irish, Poles or Italians deserving of mention. Must we invent some?

As the president of the University of Michigan complained recently, there is an increasing tendency in the Michigan Legislature—and in other state legislatures, I may add—to interfere with the operation of educational institutions that are supposed to be governed by autonomous boards of regents or trustees. This reduces academic freedom and is unpredictable in its tendency. Meddling with textbooks could be especially pernicious.

"Militants" in ethnic groups may bring injudicious pressures to bear on legislatures and other public bodies.

A few years ago, for example, some colored people in Los Angeles demanded that any account of Robert E. Lee be expunged from that city's textbooks—because Lee had owned slaves and had commanded the Confederate Army. (They probably were unaware that Lee personally disliked slavery.)

Were such medding (fortunately repelled in Los Angeles) carried far enough by various conflicting groups, there might be no one left in American history but Betsy Ross—and the peaceniks may not like even her.

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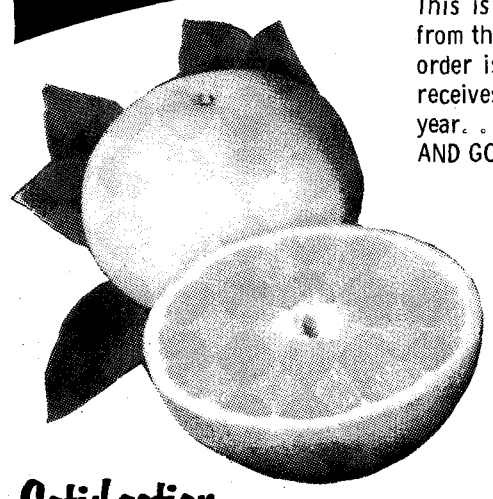

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Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.), one of the leading congressional experts on the Constitution, has prepared a substitute for the Administration's 1967 Civil Rights Bill.

Sen. Ervin Assails 1967 Civil Rights Act as Unconstitutional

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Within the next week or so, depending upon Mike Mansfield's lust for a knock-down fight, the Senate will take up what remains of the Administration's "Civil Rights Act of 1967." The majority leader will set in motion at that time the year's hottest debate on constitutional principles.

There was a time, in the earlier days of the Republic, when such debates were everyday affairs. They come along quite seldom now. The general theory seems to be that the Congress can enact whatever laws it pleases; not much is heard of the old doctrine, spelled out in the 10th Amendment, that the powers of the federal government are limited by the Constitution.

North Carolina's Sen. Sam Ervin, one of the ablest men on the Hill, will be expounding the old-time religion when debate gets under way. He is convinced that the bill approved in the House in mid-August, and officially reported to the Senate on November 2, is patently unconstitutional. He has prepared a substitute that is a better bill on a dozen counts.

Back in the cool of the winter, well before the long, hot summer, the Administration proposed an omnibus civil rights bill that would embrace jury service, "open housing" and other provisions. These proposals have gone into limbo. The surviving bill is limited to one purpose—to punish any person who for certain reasons interferes with another person in the exercise of certain activities. Among these activities are voting, attending public school, traveling by common carrier, eating in a restaurant, going to a movie, and the like.

On the face of it, the House bill seems plausible. On closer examination, it becomes evident that the measure goes far beyond the powers of Congress. The bill would establish an entirely new class of federal crimes based in part upon the enforcement of a non-existent federal "right"; i.e., the right to be protected from acts of private discrimination. No such right is known to the law. The 14th Amendment surely does not convey it.

The bill's punitive provisions, ranging up to life in prison, would be triggered when any person "by force or threat of force" interfered with another person by reason of his "race, color, religion, political affiliation, or national origin." But "force" is not defined, and "interfere with" is not defined. The bill applies to all employment "by any private employer," thus leaping beyond the boundaries of interstate commerce fixed in existing law.

As Sen. Ervin points out, the House bill creates special classes even in areas, such as voting rights and federally financed activities, where a valid congressional power can be acknowledged. Thus it would be a crime for a white man to threaten a Negro seeking to vote, but it would not be a crime for a white man to threaten another white man seeking to vote. The bill would protect a Negro rabble-rouser on a federally subsidized campus; it would not protect a Navy recruiter or a member of the Cabinet on the same campus.

In brief, despite some qualifying language inserted on the floor of the House, the Administration's proposal is tailor-made for Negro extremists who would be protected, by reason of their race, from the natural consequences of extremism. What has become, asks Sen. Ervin, of the old doctrine of equality under the law?

"When anyone is assaulted while exercising a federal right," he remarks, "the victim is no less deserving of federal protection, whether it is a Negro assaulted by another Negro, or a white man assaulted by another white man. I see absolutely no reason to apply the protection of federal law to people only where there is 'diversity of color.'"

Ervin's substitute, defeated 8 to 7 in the Judiciary Committee, would be soundly based upon the powers vested in Congress by the Constitution. He would define federal crimes that treat all persons alike. He has some admirable protections in mind for American Indians. He would safeguard the civil liberties of non-striking union members. Men who are wedded to old theories of the Constitution, and not to the new, new, *new* theories, will back him all the way.

(Copyright 1967, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

5728 Starts Badly

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Like my other co-religionists, I went to the temple during the Holy Days that just recently ushered in the New Year and asked forgiveness for my sins, hoping to start 5728 off with a clean slate.

But here's the mail, and I can only trust the Recording Angel is less exacting than some of the hanging judges here below. These boys can make a federal case out of every column I write.

I am not even allowed a margin for error in an obvious typographical slip. If I write "these man," I am certain to get a marked copy with the note: "Look who's talking about grammar!"

It's been suggested I 'stick to noncontroversial matters, but, alas, there are no such topics for me. Other commentators may attack the man-eating shark and gain Kudos for speaking up bravely against a national menace—but I would be certain to get a letter from the SPCA denouncing my cruelty to animals. (It's 10 to 5 that even this reference will draw a dozen notes pointing out that a fish is not an animal and asking how such a palpable ignoramus can possibly discuss Viet Nam.)

Once in a blue moon I manage to do a piece that apparently meets with general approval and draws no immediate counter-barrage. But even here I have learned to await the delayed time-bomb that will eventually blow up in my face.

E.g., some six years ago I was searching for the proper phrase to define an act of utterly brazen effrontery, and could not find the right English word. In despair I then ran through my small store of Latin and Greek—but with equal futility.

And then my subconscious brought up the Yiddish *chutzpah,* that devastating combination of consonants undoubtedly coined for just such an occasion by some inventive Jeremiah, and I seized it with gratitude. My research was amply rewarded when scores of readers, who had the advantages of my background, thanked me for increasing their vocabulary, especially since I had assured them it was not a cussword and could be used in mixed company.

In May of last year—5727, that is—Lucille Ball used *chutzpah* in a song, and I duly chronicled that the word had now crept into the language and recorded some of the amusing reactions of readers to whom I had introduced it. At the request of the late Hedda Hopper, I had instructed her in its correct pronunciation; another time, I had coached a group of Texans in the use of the proper throat muscles to bring out the word at its best. And even that later column brought no brickbats.

But here is the delayed time-bomb, on the letterhead of the Community Church of Oakland, Calif:

"It is only rarely I see your columns. In recent years I have come across fewer than a half-dozen, I believe. Somehow I manage to survive this deprivation.

"However, slightly more than a year ago I came across your piece in which you modestly take credit for 'popularizing' the Yiddish word, *chutzpah.* I want to express my gratitude to you for making us all aware of this truly glorious word, and I sincerely apologize for not doing so sooner.

"I have been searching for just such a term for years, for, you see, no word I can think of so perfectly **and so** adequately **both denotes and connotes what your writing and your attitude seem to be!**

"Again, thank you! Sincerely, W. B. Uphold."

Well, that's excommunication if ever I heard it. But I was squelched even more adequately some years ago when I wrote a piece announcing my resignation from a local synagogue because the rabbi (who supported Wallace for President—Henry, not George) used his pulpit on Rosh Hashona not so much to welcome the New Year as to attack the GOP. That's when I knew I was in the wrong church.

Whereupon a letter to the editor appeared with a one-word note of felicitations to the rabbi: "Mazeltov!" Which means, as if I had to tell you, "Heartiest congratulations!"

Well, I still have a dozen of the clergy—rabbis, ministers and priests—whom I can count on to put in a good word for me. And the way things have started out in 5728, I'm going to need every one of them.

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Continued from page 9

J.P. Stevens vs. Organized Labor

violation of our laws."

The congressman entered the picture again in September 1965, when two days of hearings were held to permit the IUD and the TWUA to present testimony on the alleged illegal actions taken by Stevens. According to Mr. Stevens, the company received no prior notification of the hearings and it was only after the union witnesses had already testified that the company was invited to make an appearance.

Thompson's Denunciation

On April 28 of this year, the Special Subcommittee on Labor issued a news release announcing a second set of hearings, stating that its purpose was "not to investigate any particular industry." One company, however, was mentioned twice as an example of the problem which was to be considered: J. P. Stevens.

Late in July, just a few weeks before the hearings began, Mr. Thompson again addressed his fellow congressmen on the Stevens cases. After a harsh denunciation of the company, he announced that he was introducing a bill which would provide additional remedies the board could apply in discharge cases.

One of these would authorize the NRLB, "when it thinks the case is a good one, to advance to [a discharged] employe an amount not in excess of his weekly wage rate. Upon completion of the case, the employe would pay the board back out of his back-pay award."

How the board will be able to determine whether an employe's case is a "good one" *before* examining the facts and reaching an official decision, Mr. Thompson did not say. In view of the board's track record in finding that employes' cases are usually "good ones," however, he is safe in assuming that the NLRB's loans will be riskless.

The hearings, which covered several days in August this year, were used as a public forum for union witnesses to hurl accusation upon accusation at Stevens and other Southern textile companies. Even a few Southern non-textile companies were viciously condemned for their anti-union attitude.

Eight former employes from Stevens' plants were brought to Washington by the IUD to testify on how they had been coldly and cruelly fired merely because they wanted union representation. One woman broke into tears and flew from the hearing room after screaming hysterically: "J. P. Stevens has denied me my American rights."

Paul Swaity, TWUA director of organizing, stated quite frankly before the hearings began that he did not expect any legislation to result from them. They were designed, he said, for the purpose of publicizing the Stevens case and other cases in the South where the union was having difficulty in organizing.

He certainly got what he wanted. The transcript of the hearings will make good copy for the press and the union's next series of handbills.

At the present time the first board decision has been appealed to the Supreme Court, the second, third, and fourth NLRB decisions are pending circuit court review, and, according to the unions, additional charges are beginning to accumulate for a fifth round.

Rep. Frank Thompson (D.-N.J.) took the floor of the House to decry the alleged infractions by the Stevens Co.

The Whitmore, S.C., plant of the J. P. Stevens & Co. received an award from the Defense Department last September for producing specialized fabrics for our military forces in Viet Nam. The "E" award is held by James Abrams, manager of the Whitmore plant. Flanking him are Robert Stevens, left, and Brig. Gen. John Kenderdine, commander of the Defense Personnel Support Center of the Defense Supply Agency.

New Tries Will Be Made

Maybe the concerted effort by the board, the Department of Labor, and Rep. Thompson will enable the TWUA to force unionization on Stevens' employes, driving a wedge into the entire textile industry. But if it doesn't, the new techniques being perfected now will be used again and a fourth and fifth try will be made—with additional government weapons if necessary.

Eventually the textile industry and the rest of Southern industry will crumble befor the weight of the government and their employes will be organized—whether they want to be or not. And with the millions of new members will come more dues and more coercive power.

Then one day, several years hence, an industry-wide textile strike will occur and devastate entire Southern communities where the textile mill is the major employer, halt the delivery of vitally needed military textiles, and throw tens of thousands of employes out of work. The President and Congress will hastily try to devise stop-gap legislation which will halt such a strike, and the man on the street will wonder in despair if there is anything which can harness union coercive power and its abuses.

There is only one way to keep this prediction from coming true: Everyone concerned will have to realize that the problem of union coercive power and its abuses have been made possible only by government intervention. Then the government must begin a complete withdrawal from the area of labor-management relations.

□ □ □

ALLIS-CHALMERS DECISION—"The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights recently approved an amendment which, in effect, would overrule the recent Supreme Court decision in the Allis-Chalmers case. This ruling upheld the legality of a fine imposed by a union on a member who refused to take part in a strike. The subcommittee adopted a proviso to the National Labor Relations Act making it unlawful for a union to impose, or a court to enforce, such a fine or other economic sanction. The amendment was incorporated in HR 2516, a House-passed bill providing penalties for interference with civil rights and still must be approved by the full Senate Judiciary Committee."—From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

□ □ □

A QUESTION FOR LBJ—"President Johnson repeatedly has warned that unless Congress levies a 10 per cent surtax to curb the buying power of the public, prolific spending by individuals may trigger disastrous inflation. No one doubts that unbridled spending is one of the primary causes of inflationary spirals. But in this instance, the imposition of another tax-on-top-of-a-tax can minimize the danger only if the new revenue is applied to the nation's already top-heavy debt. However, Mr. Johnson wants this new money so government departments and bureaus will have more ready cash to spend. All of which has inspired a puzzled reader of the Montgomery, Alabama *Advertiser-Journal* to pose the following question: 'Why is it inflationary if I spend the money but not if the government spends it?' Well, Mr. Johnson?"—From the Nashville *Banner*

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Bobby's New Book to Point Up Differences With LBJ

By TED LEWIS

Advance copies of Bobby Kennedy's book of essays, *To Seek a Newer World,* are being distributed for review purposes. The publisher, Doubleday & Co., made the usual request that nothing be written about what is between the covers of the 233-page volume until publication date November 24.

This book, however, happens to be susceptible to review by political commentators without even being read. It has never been a secret that it started out to be a collection of Bobby's speeches on this and that big problem confronting the nation. Then it was decided to sort of edit the speeches, adding and subtracting, into essay form.

This was a smart idea. A lot more people are likely to fork out $4.95 for a book that contains essays instead of old speeches, most of which have appeared in the *Congressional Record.*

The advantage to the publishers is obvious. After all, they reportedly paid $150,000 for the privilege of putting Kennedy's political opinions in book form. And in the pre-publication effort to whet public interest, even a vague suggestion that Bobby has updated some of the harsh cracks he has taken at Johnson policies is almost certain to help sales.

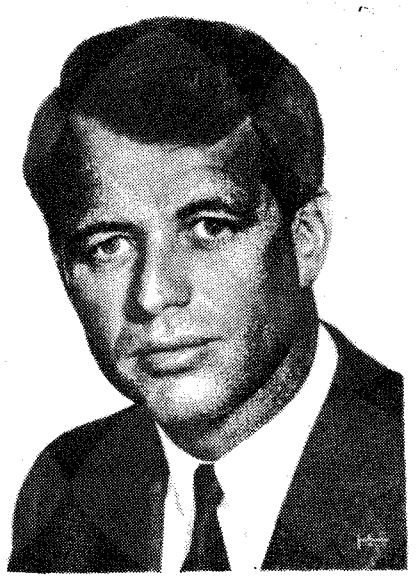
The truth, however, is that Kennedy's book simply pulls together under one cover what he has been saying around the country and in the Senate. And what has he been talking about (as if everybody didn't know)? About what the President should do in Viet Nam, in improving the "Great Society," and so forth.

Does this Kennedy volume, on that basis, then have any significance? It definitely does politically, for the 1968 presidential campaign already is in its significant maneuvering phases.

It isn't Kennedy's fault that his hard-cover political commentary gets onto the bookstands in November. This was the time the publishers chose as likely to be most lucrative—when people were beginning to develop interest in presidential 1968.

For that matter, he would be accused of playing politics whenever the book came out. Any year is either an important election year or the year before an important election.

When the "essays" were being polished a few weeks ago, no one could have anticipated the political developments that would lend his printed views added significance, such as Sen. Eugene McCarthy's proposal on October 26 that



Bobby Kennedy's speeches are likely to make interesting, if not pleasing, reading at the White House.

Kennedy consider contesting President Johnson for the 1968 nomination.

In addition, various popularity polls showed Kennedy would run better than LBJ. The recent release of the respected Des Moines *Register and Tribune* poll of Iowa sentiment showed that in that typical farm state 65 per cent of the Democrats favored Bobby and only 23 per cent were for LBJ.

These are awkward developments for Kennedy. They accentuate his political differences with the President when he is trying to minimize the differences, having firmly announced he would support the President in 1968.

And his book is going to accentuate further those differences, although that was not his original intent. He simply viewed his book as a compilation of his known views and, as such, a volume which would contribute to "the political dialogue."

The senator "thinks" that it is important for people to think about the "matters of great importance" before the nation. So he has offered in one volume his own positive opinions for consideration.

What we don't know (and don't expect to find out either) is whether Kennedy gave thought to how the President would react to "the book." It is doubtful that any book by Bobby—even a fictional whodunit—would be anything but a thorn in Lyndon's side. From the White House standpoint these days, the Kennedy name is getting too goldarn much publicity anyway, even without a book.

The book itself is not likely to get a favored place, if any place at all, on a White House family bookshelf, for it simply calls attention to the disagreements between Johnson and Bobby on national issues and offers the senator's estimate of the President's leadership qualities.

This slap at Johnson is veiled, but clear enough nevertheless. It is along the line that more imaginative leadership is needed if the nation's many problems are going to be solved.

So between the lines of many of the Kennedy speeches—especially those to college undergraduates and young voters—the impression is indelible that he is reaching out for the leadership role. Since the "essays" give a well-rounded exposition of the senator's opinions on all issues that he considers of significance, this "youth leadership" appraisal should be well spelled out.

Will this book cause the "alliance of convenience" between Kennedy and the President to disintegrate? This is unlikely.

Neither wants to precipitate a break—Johnson because he needs to neutralize Bobby in 1968, and Kennedy because he needs to have a party loyalty record to have a chance of gaining the White House in 1972.

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Politics and Food

From the Dallas *Morning News*

Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman now plans to spend $300 million, more or less, to pay farmers not to grow feed grains. This, of course, is designed to hike prices and cut down on the cries of grain producers and speculators.

You'll probably recall that this is a return to the 1961-66 policy of the federal government. That program cleaned accumulated stocks out of storage, largely by helping the hungry abroad. So, last year farmers were encouraged to produce more feed grain. A good season increased volume and lowered prices.

Naturally, the politic thing to do is to cut down again, regardless of the fact that there are more hungry mouths to feed every day. This disregards, also, the higher prices that U.S. consumers eventually will have to pay for meat and milk produced on costlier grains.

Spending $300 million for non-production definitely ignores all that economy talk that's been going around Washington, not to mention the pleas for spending less that are coming from taxpayers.

"Forget all that" apparently is the theme song that rings in the ears of the Administration. The only music they can hear is the sound of approaching elections.

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As in 1946

Congress Could Cut Spending With Strong 'Rescission' Law

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Early last summer three old friends spent an agonizing two hours in the White House examining the United States budget. They came to the dismaying conclusion that the richest nation on earth would fall short by $28.3 billion of being able to pay its bills in the next fiscal year.

"You might just as well throw that figure out the window and make the deficit $30 billion," Sen. Dirksen (R.-Ill.) told President Johnson. "There are always unforeseen expenditures that come along just as surely as night follows day."

Sen. Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.) nodded his agreement as Dirksen added: "This is a fiscal crisis as dangerous as any I can recall. We must face up to it."

From that moment, some four months ago, until the present, the problem of facing up to the crisis has been evaded by both the White House and Congress. It remains as perilous today as when Dirksen spoke. Despite widely publicized votes for multi-billion-dollar economy cuts on Capitol Hill and declamations from the President about spending freezes, an enormous and inflationary deficit has not been reduced, and will not be reduced.

The 'rescission' approach favored by Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) would wipe out already passed appropriations.

The American people were not informed of the danger until August 3. The President then revealed that the $8 to $9-billion deficit glimpsed in January had now soared to a prospective $29 billion. Sacrifice was called for, the President said, as he increased a proposed 6 per cent surcharge on all income taxes to 10 per cent. He would meet this $10-billion-a-year contribution from the people by cutting domestic spending as much as possible, perhaps as much as $3 billion.

Buckpassing, a political art long venerated in Washington, flowered in its finest form in the succeeding three months. The House pigeonholed the surtax bill until the President would pledge a slash in spending of from $5 to $8 billion. He, in turn, asked plaintively how he could cut appropriations until he learned how much Congress appropriated.

The doubletalk in this exchange, mystifying to the taxpayer, concerns the confusion between "appropriations" and "expenditures." Cuts in appropriations do not mean cuts in spending. Congress will probably reduce appropriations by $5 or $6 billion in this session. But the government operates on funds supplied in previous years as well as in the current fiscal year. It can go on pumping huge amounts of money into the economy, stimulating inflation.

The ordinary citizen may justifiably ask: Why can't Congress, with its constitutional power of the purse, cut off spending as well as appropriations?

The answer is that it can. It has authority to enact what is known as "rescission" law, wiping out or reducing not only appropriations in the current fiscal year but unspent balances remaining from prior years. Such an act is politically painful, but it works.

Dirksen put the Senate to a test on this proposal the week of October 23. He produced a notable precedent, the Rescission Act of 1946. Congress that year found the budget swollen by appropriations passed under the impact of World War II. It rescinded more than $47 billion in appropriations, forcing federal agencies to return all unspent funds to the Treasury. Although the bulk of the canceled appropriations had been authorized for war purposes, many billions were lopped from funds for non-war agencies. It was an item-by-item directive, sparing no bureau. A prospective huge deficit was greatly reduced. In the following year, there was a surplus instead of a deficit.

"Let's stay in session and tackle this job again as we did in 1946," Dirksen suggested.

He was supported by 26 Republicans and 12 Democrats, but a majority of 43 Democrats and two Republicans recoiled from the proposal. The Senate preferred to leave the problem with the President who could, of course, kill expenditures in any amount by simple decree. He, however, has repeatedly emphasized that the greater part of a $142-billion budget is "untouchable."

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Cuban Exodus

From the Richmond *News Leader*

More than 75,000 Cuban exiles have flown into Miami during the past 21 months, and if the rate continues as it has been going, the Cuban refugee airlift will turn into the largest exodus in modern times.

According to the Cuban Refugee Center in Miami, about 1.3 million of Cuba's 7 million persons are eager to testify to the anguish of Fidel Castro's Cuba by getting seats on the "freedom flights." The airlift, which consists of two flights a day five days a week, brings about 3,800 Cubans to the United States every month. It costs the U.S. $50 million a year to fly the refugees out of Cuba and to relocate them here.

Many Americans, James Reston of the New York *Times* among them, believe that life in Cuba is just this side of peachy. Evidently Mr. Reston and those like him have not listened to the Cubans who have been there, or to the ones who want to get out. Those Cubans will tell you, to a man, that Cuba under Mr. Castro is nothing but a concentration camp.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Greece an Ally

By REP. EDWARD DERWINSKI (R.-Ill.)

The Greeks today are as determined to reject communism as when they heroically resisted the Fascist invasion in World War II. Objective reports reveal that the Greek government has produced domestic stability and is receiving the overwhelming support of the people of Greece and is moving to restore an elected democratic government. In contrast, military regimes in the Congo, Ghana, Argentina and one-party states such as Kenya, Uganda and Algeria give no evidence of re-establishing democracy. I have also pointed out to the State Department the obvious fact that if they can provide aid and arrange trade subsidies for the Communist dictatorships of Poland and Yugoslavia, the United States should maintain complete cooperation with the government of Greece, which is our ally.

Curious Inconsistency

By SEN. NORRIS COTTON (R.-N.H.)

Curious inconsistencies abound these days. . . . Most amazing of all is the President's insistence on a tax raise, not because the government needs the money but to hold down people's private spending and check inflation. In other words, you and I are too dumb to handle our income wisely, but this spendthrift government can do it for us.

Senate Turns Back Economy Bids

Following is the Senate vote on a motion by Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) to put a $131-billion ceiling upon federal spending for the 1968 fiscal year, with the exception of necessary funds for the Viet Nam war.

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 39

DEMOCRATS (15): Byrd (Va.), Cannon, Church, Eastland, Ervin, Hollings, Lausche, McGovern, Nelson, Proxmire, Russell, Spong, Stennis, Symington and Talmadge.

REPUBLICANS (24): Allott, Baker, Bennett, Boggs, Carlson, Cooper, Cotton, Curtis, Dirksen, Dominick, Fannin, Griffin, Hansen, Hickenlooper, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Morton, Mundt, Murphy, Pearson, Percy, Prouty, Thurmond and Williams (Del.).

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT: 48

DEMOCRATS (41): Anderson, Bartlett, Bayh, Bible, Burdick, Byrd (W. Va.), Clark, Ellender, Gore, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Hayden, Hill, Holland, Inouye, Jackson, Jordan (N.C.), Kennedy (Mass.), Kennedy (N.Y.), Long (Mo.), Long (La.), Magnuson, Mansfield, McClellan, McGee, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Monroney, Montoya, Moss, Muskie, Pastore, Pell, Randolph, Ribicoff, Smathers, Tydings, Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (7): Aiken, Case, Fong, Javits, Scott, Smith and Young (N.D.).

Paired for: Miller (R) and Tower (R).

Paired against: Brooke (R) and Kuchel (R).

The Senate also turned down an amendment by Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.) to trim government spending by a flat 5 per cent of major appropriations for next year.

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 43

DEMOCRATS (17): Bible, Byrd (Va.) Church, Eastland, Ervin, Hollings, Lausche, McGovern, Nelson, Pastore, Proxmire, Ribicoff, Russell, Spong, Stennis, Symington and Talmadge.

REPUBLICANS (26): Allott, Baker, Bennett, Boggs, Carlson, Cooper, Cotton, Curtis, Dirksen, Dominick, Fannin, Griffin, Hansen, Hickenlooper, Hruska, Javits, Jordan (Idaho), Morton, Mundt, Murphy, Pearson, Percy, Prouty, Thurmond, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT: 46

DEMOCRATS (41): Anderson, Bartlett, Bayh, Brewster, Burdick, Byrd (W.Va.), Cannon, Clark, Ellender, Gore, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Hayden, Hill, Holland, Inouye, Jackson, Jordan (N.C.), Kennedy (Mass.), Kennedy (N.Y.), Long (Mo.), Long (La.), Magnuson, Mansfield, McClellan, McGee, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Monroney, Montoya, Moss, Muskie, Pell, Randolph, Smathers, Tydings, Williams (N.J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (5): Aiken, Case, Fong, Scott and Smith.

Paired for: Kuchel (R).

Paired against: Hatfield (R).

Rent Subsidies Survive House Action

Following is the 198-to-184 rollcall vote by which the House rejected an amendment by Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.) to delete all rent subsidy funds for the coming year from a bill the Senate had already approved.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 45

Abbitt
Abernethy
Andrews (Ala.)
Baring
Bennett
Bevill
Brinkley
Colmer
Davis (Ga.)
Dorn
Dowdy
Flynt
Galifianakis
Gathings
Gettys
Hagan
Haley
Henderson
Hull
Ichord
Jarman
Jones (N.C.)
Kornegay
Lennon
McMillan
Montgomery
Nichols
O'Neal (Ga.)
Passman
Pike
Pool
Randall
Rivers
Rogers (Fla.)
Satterfield
Selden
Sikes
Taylor
Teague (Tex.)
Tuck
Tunney
Waggonner
White
Whitener
Whittem

REPUBLICANS FOR: 139

Adair
Anderson (Ill.)
Andrews (N.D.)
Arends
Ashbrook
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Berry
Betts
Biester
Blackburn
Bow
Bray
Brock
Brotzman
Brown (Ohio)
Broyhill (N. C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Burke (Fla.)
Bush
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Davis (Wis.)
Denney
Derwinski
Devine
Dole
Duncan
Edwards (Ala.)
Erlenborn
Eshleman
Findley
Fino
Ford, Gerald
Frelinghuysen
Fulton (Pa.)
Gardner
Goodell
Goodling
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hall
Halleck
Hammerschmidt
Hansen (Idaho)
Harrison
Harsha
Hosmer
Hunt
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Keith
King (N. Y.)
Kleppe
Kuykendall
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Lukens
McClory
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McEwen
Mailliard
Mathias (Calif.)
May
Mayne
Meskill
Michel
Miller (Ohio)
Moore
Myers
Nelsen
O'Konski
Pettis
Pirnie
Poff
Price (Tex.)
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Reid (Ill.)
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Riegle
Robison
Roth
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (Okla.)
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Steiger (Ariz.)
Steiger (Wis.)
Taft
Teague (Calif.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Whalley
Wiggins
Williams (Pa.)
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wydler
Wylie
Zion
Zwach

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 163

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson (Tenn.)
Annunzio
Ashley
Barrett
Bingham
Blanton
Blatnik
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Burke (Mass.)
Burleson
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Cabell
Casey
Celler
Clark
Conyers
Culver
Daddario
Daniels
de la Garza
Delaney
Dent
Dingell
Donohue
Dow
Downing
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards (Calif.)
Edwards (La.)
Eilberg
Evans (Colo.)
Evins (Tenn.)
Fallon
Fascell
Flood
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Griffiths
Hamilton
Hanley
Hansen (Wash.)
Hardy
Hathaway
Hays
Hechler (W. Va.)
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Howard
Hungate
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Jones (Ala.)
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Kelly
King (Calif.)
Kluczynski
Kyros
Landrum
Leggett
Long (Md.)
Macdonald (Mass.)
Machen
Mahon
Marsh
Matsunaga
Meeds
Mills
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris (N. M.)
Moss
Multer
Murphy (Ill.)
Natcher
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara (Ill.)
Olsen
O'Neill (Mass.)
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Poage
Price (Ill.)
Pryor
Pucinski
Purcell
Rees
Reuss
Rhodes (Pa.)
Roberts
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Ronan
Rooney (N. Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
Scheuer
Shipley
Sisk
Slack
Smith (Iowa)
Staggers
Steed
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Thompson (N. J.)
Tiernan
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Walker
Watts
Wilson, Charles
Wolff
Wright
Yates
Young
Zablocki

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 35

Ayres
Bolton
Brown (Mich.)
Button
Conte
Corbett
Cowger
Dellenback
Dwyer
Esch
Gude
Harvey
Heckler (Mass.)
Horton
Jonas
Kupferman
McDonald (Mich.)
MacGregor
Mathias (Md.)
Minshall
Mize
Morse (Mass.)
Mosher
Pelly
Reid (N.Y.)
Shriver
Smith (N. Y.)
Stanton
Talcott
Thompson (Ga.)
Vander Jagt
Whalen
Widnall
Wyatt
Wyman

NOT VOTING: 50

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• Thanks to the sabotage efforts of Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.), Republicans on the Senate Judiciary Committee were defeated in their effort to broaden the coverage of the Administration's bill to **protect civil rights workers** (HR 2516—see last week's Human Events). GOP and conservative Democratic senators had wanted to amend the House-passed bill to include protection of union men who do not wish to strike, American Indians, and other individuals they felt were equally entitled to protection in exercising their rights; by a series of 8-to-7 votes (the margin provided by Scott) the Senate committee chose to restrict coverage to civil rights workers. The bill now goes to the Senate floor where it faces an uncertain future; some conservatives have vowed to filibuster and this, along with Republican disenchantment, will probably prevent the bill from passing this session.

• House and Senate conferees have reached a compromise on the **Foreign Aid Bill** (S 1872) and the measure now returns to both houses for final approval. The conference version allocates $2.674 billion for foreign spending, a figure almost $6 million under that requested by the Administration. Although LBJ lost some monetary ground, he did succeed in having liberal Democrats scuttle or dilute conservative amendments which would have restricted his "bridge building" policy with Red nations; a proviso added by Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) to bar U.S. aid going to nations trading with North Viet Nam was watered down to allow the President to waive this restriction. Dropped completely were amendments prohibiting ships of nations involved in Red trade from docking at U.S. ports and another prohibiting easy tariff concessions to Communist Poland.

• The House-passed bill **increasing postal rates** and **raising federal pay** (HR 7977) is now the subject of hearings before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Senate conservatives are expected to take up the economy fight begun in the House, trying to limit the pay raises (estimated at a total cost of $628.8 million) to an initial hike this year, rather than prorate them over a period of years.

• Sen. John McClellan's Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures has approved a toughened-up version of the Administration's **Safe Streets and Crime Control** bill (HR 5037). The bill now authorizes federal grants of $85 million for improving local police forces (with $15 million specifically for riot control), permits court-ordered wiretapping (which LBJ had wanted outlawed) and acts to ease several Supreme Court decisions restricting admissibility of criminal confessions; under the McClellan version, voluntariness would be the only criteria for determining whether a court could accept a confession as evidence. Next step for the controversial bill is the full Senate Judiciary Committee, where liberal Democrats (possibly with help from their pal Hugh Scott) will possibly try to whittle down some of McClellan's no-nonsense provisions.

• The House is now having a go at the **amendments to the poverty program**, legislation that has changed faster than a supersonic chameleon; the House version could pass any day, but the bill's final approval will take some time. The Senate version appropriated $2.258 billion for poverty projects, an astronomic figure fully $198 million higher than requested by the Administration. Conservatives in the House are expected to prevail and drastically reduce the Senate amount, plus add policy changes to restrict the political activities of poverty workers. The two different measures will then go to conference, where a bruising battle is expected.

• Another conference economy battle has developed over the **Pubic Works Projects** appropriations bill (HR 11641). Free-spending Senate Democrats banded to pass appropriations adding up to a whopping $4.776 billion, containing some $18.5 million in projects not even included in LBJ's 1968 budget; the House public works outlay was $1.5 million less than the Senate's and House conferees are pushing to limit this spending item to their level, fully aware of increasing public concern over runaway federal spending and Administration threats of new taxes.

• In another aspect of congressional civil rights action, Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman James O. Eastland (D.-Miss.) has instructed a special subcommittee established to consider **anti-riot legislation** to substitute a bill proposed by Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) for the House-approved measure (H.R. 421). Considered a stiffer proposal than the House version, the Dodd bill would provide up to 20 years imprisonment or $20,000 fine if an individual used interstate facilities within 10 days before instigating or encouraging a riot; Dodd's anti-riot measure would also establish a Federal Office of Riot Prevention and Con rol and an Advisory Council on Coordination of Programs of Riot Prevention and Control.

• While the "bridge building" policy came through unscathed in the aid bill, House conservatives did manage to add some Communist trade restrictions to the bill extending the life of the **Export-Import Bank.** Under the leadership of Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.), the House Banking and Currency Committee voted to prohibit Ex-Im loans or credit to nations trading with North Viet Nam and also to outlaw U.S. credit to Italy so the Fiat automobile company could build a plant in Russia. The White House will undoubtedly rally House liberals to attack these provisions and a major fight on Red trade looms.

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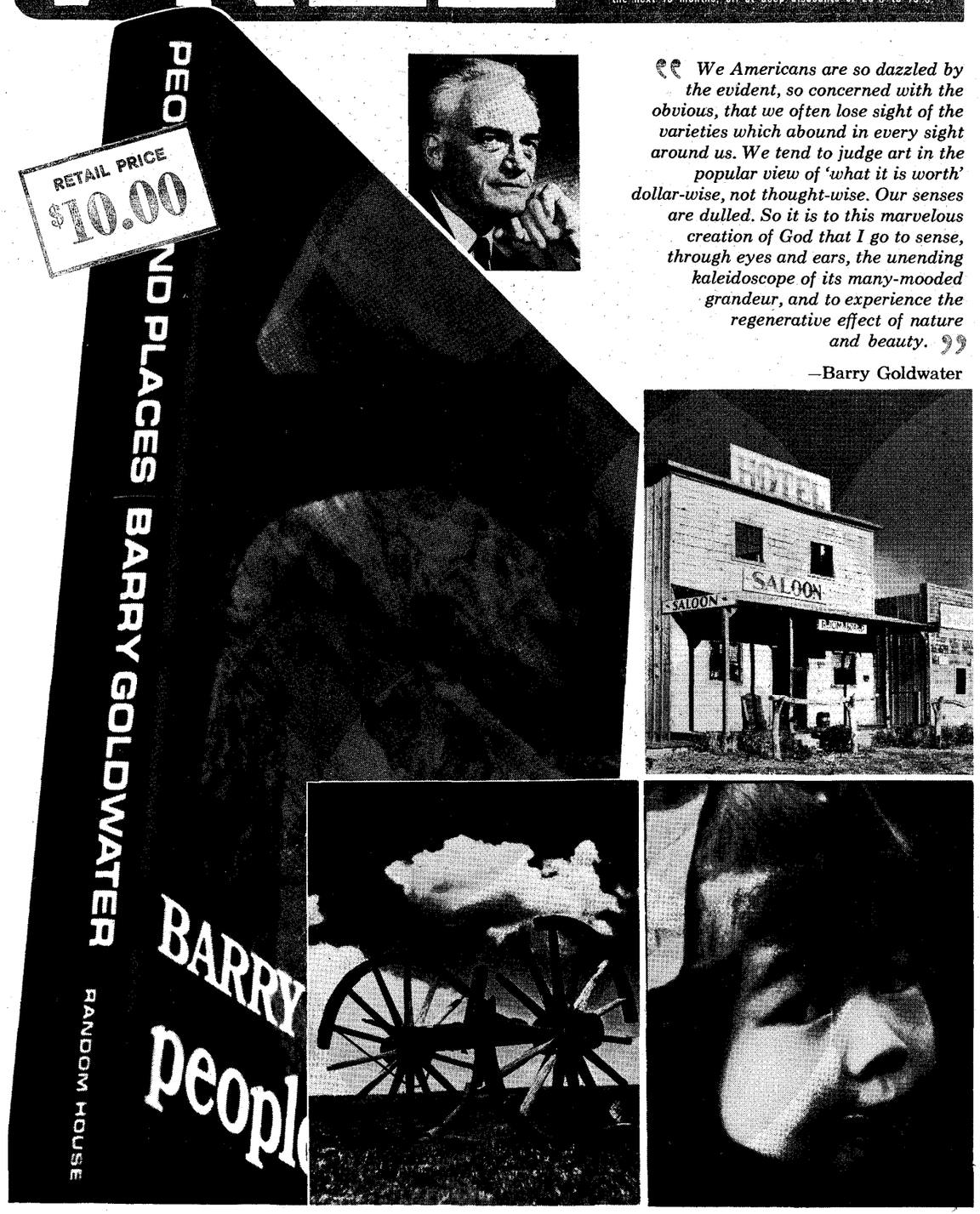

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